

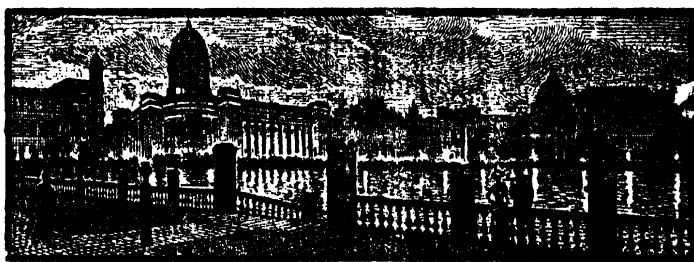
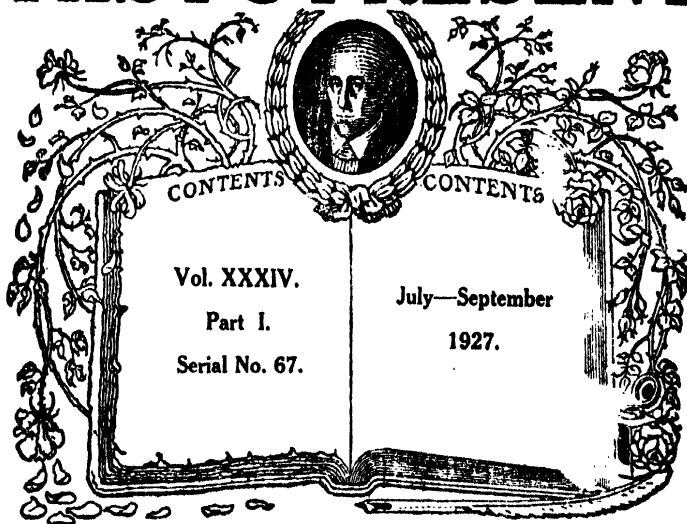
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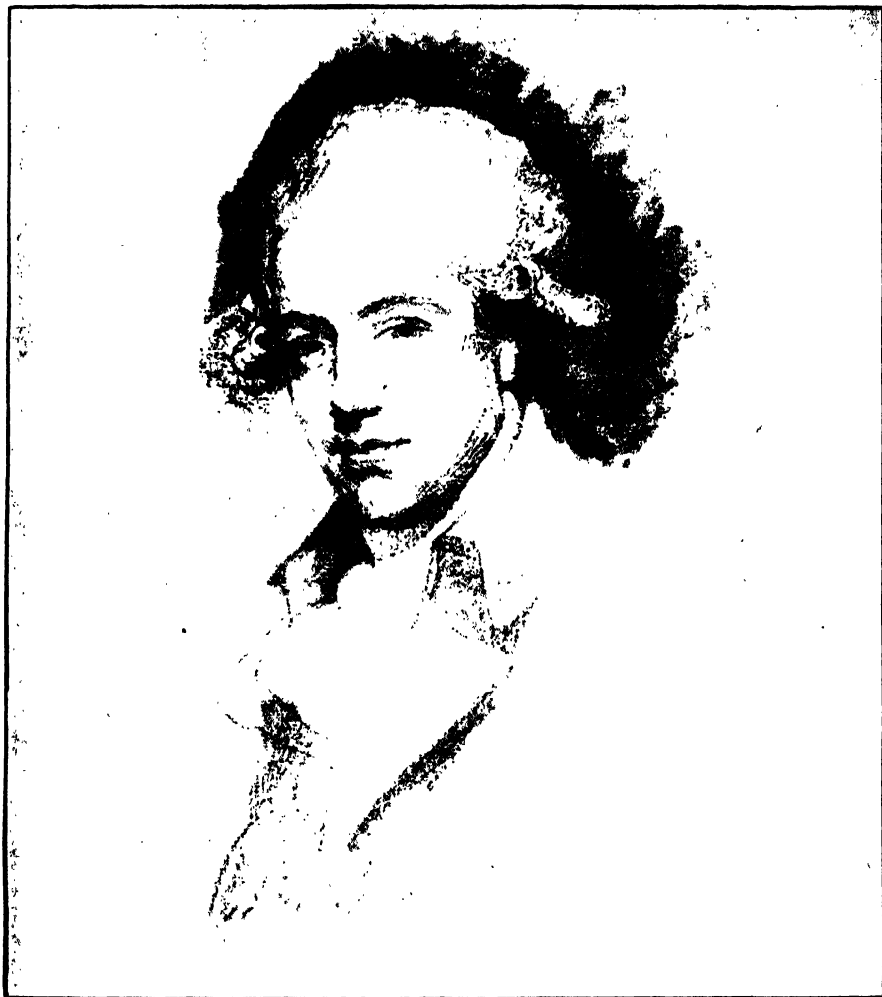
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OZIAS HUMPHRY, R.A.

From the Portrait by Himself in the Library of the Royal Academy.
(Reproduced from a Photograph lent by Dr. G. C. Williamson).

An Artist and His Fees.

THE STORY OF THE SUIT BROUGHT BY OZIAS HUMPHRY AGAINST THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

IN the Notes to the fourth and last volume of the Memoirs of William Hickey particulars are supplied of certain portions of the manuscript which have been omitted. Among these passages is the following:—

Vol. III. p. 306, Deleted. An account of an action brought against Sir John Macpherson, the Governor-General, by Ozias Humphry, the artist, who endeavoured to make Sir John personally responsible for the payment of Humphry's fees for painting portraits of affluent Indians, which he had been able to do through Sir John's introductions and recommendations. The artist failed in his action, but Sir John did not press for payment of his own costs.

There is no mention of this episode in Dr. G. C. Williamson's *Life of Ozias Humphry*: and if Mr. Alfred Spencer, the editor of the Memoirs, had been aware of this, the blue pencil might perhaps not have been applied. Fortunately, a report of the case may be seen in the *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday, March 12, 1789, and the record is preserved in the High Court. The kindness of Sir William Foster enables the use also of notes which he has made from the unpublished papers of Sir John Macpherson.

The attorney for the plaintiff, Humphry, was William Johnson, a nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who came out with the Judges of the Supreme Court on board the *Anson* in 1774, "under the immediate protection," as Hickey puts it, of Sir Robert Chambers. He became Clerk of the Crown, and Sir John Royds, upon his appointment to a judgeship in 1797, nominated him as his clerk: but he did not long hold the latter office. Hickey records that he was "suddenly carried off by a violent fever" in 1799 (1). Humphry's counsel was Robert Ledlie, who was admitted an advocate on November 6, 1785, and whom Hickey had "long known by sight as a gay London man." He married on January 3, 1786, Susannah Grand, the sister of George Francis Grand, and died in Calcutta on November 24, 1809, at the age of sixty-five. During the last years of his life he held the appointments of Master in Equity, Accountant-General, and Keeper of the Records. William Hickey himself was in charge of Macpherson's case: and his counsel was James Dunkin, who was admitted as an advocate on March 1, 1784, and died on October 16, 1808, at the age of seventy-eight, at Colombo, where he had been advocate fiscal, or circuit judge,

(1) The Johnson collection of Oriental paintings, which is now at the India Office, was made by his younger brother, Richard, who was Resident at Lucknow in 1782.

since 1799 (2). The judges of the Supreme Court at the time were Sir Robert Chambers, who had been acting as Chief Justice since the departure of Impey in January, 1784, John Hyde, and Sir William Jones, who succeeded Le Maistre in the previous year.

With these preliminaries, we may proceed to study the following item of "Law Intelligence" from the *Calcutta Gazette* of March 12, 1789.

* * * * *

A very curious case, that of Ozias Humphry, Miniature Painter, against the present Sir John Macpherson, was determined on Friday last in the Supreme Court. Mr. Humphry brought his bill to be decreed a compensation for his time and trouble in having at the requisition of Mr. Macpherson, then Governor-General, left Calcutta and proceeded to Lucknow for the purpose of painting certain pictures, five in number, at the Court of Oude; namely, of His Highness the Nawaub and others of the Royal Family, and of the publick Ministers. And as a foundation for this relief, Mr. Humphry charged that at the time he left Calcutta, his profits by his profession amounted to 1,000 rupees per week, that the Governor proposed to him to undertake this commission, that his friends advised him to decline it without an indemnification against his being a loser, that the defendant, understanding this, promised that he should be no loser by his journey; on the contrary, that he should have a greater income at Lucknow than he made at Calcutta; and then charged him with a commission to paint as before at the Court of Oude, having first delivered him letters of introduction to the Nawaub and his Ministers, with many others. That he arrived at Lucknow in February, 1786, and finding upon enquiry little prospect of being paid at the Durbar, he immediately by letter acquainted the defendant with his discouragements; that the defendant caused Mr. Magnus to write two letters of consolation to him, desiring him to remain in Lucknow, to be confident and fear not; that the defendant afterwards, in consequence of a second letter from the plaintiff, conceived in like terms of chagrin and disappointment, wrote him three several letters, in two of which he expressly promised to pay the plaintiff for his trouble; that under these assurances he remained at Lucknow and completed his commission. That when he applied for payment he was amused under various pretences and was at length obliged to accept 5,000 sicca rupees (3) to defray his expenses and to receive a note payable the next fusile (fasli) year for 42,000 odd rupees,

It also appeared by the bill that the quantum of this payment was regulated by a calculation framed by Mr. Humphry in the following manner.

(2) "Dunkin-busti-ka-rusta," the vernacular name for Camac Street, perpetuates unsavoury memories of Dunkin's *busti*, which once stretched from Wood Street to Camac Street. Either James Dunkin, or his relative Sir William Dunkin, the Judge, was the original owner. James Dunkin was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1794.

(3) Sicca rupees (which carried the impress of the nineteenth year of the reign of Shah Alam) bore to the Company's rupee (which was based on the old Farrukhabad rupee) the proportion of sixteen to fifteen. The barrister's gold mohur, which is equivalent to sixteen rupees, is the last survival of the sicca.

From the time he received his credentials at Calcutta to the time he left Lucknow, after having completed his commission, twenty-three and a half weeks had elapsed, which at the rate of 1,000 rupees a week, amounted to 23,500 rupees, and the plaintiff insisted he was intitled to double that sum, namely 47,000 rupees, because Mr. Willison, a gentleman who had been employed as a Painter at the Durbar of Arcot, was allowed double his ordinary price (4).

The defendant, in answer, denied that he had ever entered into any original engagement with the plaintiff, that, conceiving the plaintiff who had been recommended to him from England, was a man of genius and a good Artist, he wished to serve him as far as he could. That with that view and by way of encouragement he gave him liberty to proceed to Lucknow, furnished with letters of recommendation, and desired him to paint certain pictures of the Durbar, expecting the Nawaub and his Ministers would reward the plaintiff liberally, observing that, without deputing a Painter specially to Lucknow, he might have had any pictures he wanted painted by an abler artist on the spot. That, feeling very much for the disappointment and despondency which appeared in the letters he had received from the plaintiff soon after he reached Lucknow, he had been induced from mere motives of humanity and compassion to express himself as he had done in his letters to the plaintiff.

Many witnesses had been examined on both sides. On the 4th instant the cause came on to be heard, was continued on the 5th and on the 6th. The plaintiff having closed his case (which was very poorly supported in proof), just as the Council for the defendant was preparing to open the defence, the court was pleased to signify that it was not necessary, the plaintiff having laid no foundation to intitle him to a decree. They observed that Mr. Macpherson's engagement to pay was a *medium pactum*, that at all

(4) From one of Humphry's note books which are preserved at the British Museum, it appears that Willison's prices for portraits in India were: "For a three-quarter portrait at Madras, 75 pagodas, at Bombay the same money in rupees; for a half length 150 pagodas; for a full length 300 pagodas; whatever Mr. Willison did at the Durbar was paid for double." A Madras pagoda was equal to three and a half rupees.

George Willison (1741-1797) "an amiable modest man as well as an admirable artist," arrived at Madras in 1774 "without permission." He painted a number of portraits of Muhammad Ali Khan, Walajah, the famous Nawab of the Carnatic (1717-1795). Two were sent home by the Nawab in 1775 for presentation to King George the Third and the Court of Directors; the former, which was at Hampton Court, is now in the Victoria Memorial Hall, and the latter hangs in the Revenue Committee-room at the India Office. A third was formerly at Government House, Calcutta, and has been transferred to Viceregal Lodge, Simla. A fourth, a whole length, was exhibited at the rooms of the Society of Artists in 1777. In April 1925 Sir William Foster informed the writer that Admiral Tate was the owner of a large oil-painting by Willison of the Nawab with his eldest son Umdat-ul-Umara (1748-1801) and his grandson Abdul Ali Khan. It was sold at Christie's on June 22 for twelve guineas. Willison settled in Edinburgh on his return from India. "He was before his death considered as the richest of commoners in the country for jewels" (Edwards, *Anecdotes of Painting*). Having some knowledge of medicine, he "cured a wealthy Indian of a dangerous wound of long standing," and was bequeathed a considerable fortune in consequence.

events it could not extend further than by the real value of the pictures (500 rupees a piece, according to the proofs made in the cause) and that, taking it even upon the scale of the plaintiff's own calculation, that of double price, the plaintiff had been fully paid, he having received for five pictures 5,000 rupees.

The Reporter has purposely omitted the legal arguments used by the court, as the Publick are but little interested in such arguments, and more especially as the matters of fact are in this case so very decisive (5).

He cannot help observing that this decision is most fortunate for all men of genius, and indeed for many others who may resort to this country and require the aid and recommendation of humane and generous patrons. If men in power are to be saddled with demands in consequence of their liberality and compassion, those who stand in need of assistance, would find themselves miserably deserted.

* * * * *

Ozias Humphry was born at Honiton in Devon on September 8, 1742. According to Joseph Farington (Diary, March 19, 1809), "His parents traded in lace and sold wine, perhaps two or three pipes in a year" (6). He was in his forty-third year, and had been an Associate Royal Academician for six years when he sailed for Bengal in the *Francis* Indiaman at the end of January, 1785. On the voyage he made sketches of Capt. James Urmston, the commander and "Major (George) Mence, son of the Rev. Mr. Mence, Doctor of Kentish Town and one of the canons of St. Paul's" (7). The vessel struck a rock in False Bay in May, and was detained for repairs for three weeks at the Cape of Good Hope. She reached Madras in July and Calcutta in August.

Writing to his brother (the Rev. William Humphry of Seale, near Seven-oaks) on August 18, 1785, "a fortnight after my arrival," he says that both Macpherson and Chambers had received him with the utmost kindness, and that he had already made £200 and expected to make £5,000 a year. On November 26, he was less hopeful. He expresses annoyance that J. T. Seton should have returned to England, "after an easy time in Bengal, with £12,000 in his pocket" (8), whereas, "owing to the restrictions and im-

(5) The judgment of the Court extends to seventy-two folios.

(6) In an earlier entry (November 4, 1804) Farington says that he was the son of a barber who died in poor circumstances. He was elected A.R.A. in 1779.

(7) James Urmston (1750-1815) was captain of the *Earl of Mulgrave* when she sailed from Plymouth for Bengal on June 26, 1781, with Robert Pott and Emily Warren on board (Hickey, Vol. II, p. 313). On his retirement from the sea in 1803, he bought an estate in Essex and became High Sheriff of the county. His son Sir James Brabazon Urmston (1785-1850), was President of the Select Committee at Canton, and was knighted in 1820. For Mence see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, p. 100. He was "sketched at sea 21 June 1785" (Williamson).

(8) See the article on John Thomas Seton by Sir William Foster in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, p. 1. He received "leave to proceed to Bengal to practise the profession of a portrait painter" on November 22, 1775. It has now been ascertained definitely that the portrait of Sir Eyre Coote, which hangs in the Council-room at the India Office, is his. A portrait by him of Warren Hastings (which has disappeared) was engraved by John Jones in April 1785.

poverishments ordered by the Company's regulations," his own prospects are almost ruined. Macpherson had, however, assured him that if he could persuade himself to stay in India for a couple of years, he might perhaps make £10,000.

On December 19, he writes a long letter to Miss Boydell, the daughter of Alderman Boydell, the art publisher. He is about to start upon a journey up-country, with the intention of spending three or four months at Lucknow with the Nawab Vizier, from whom alone he has been told that he will be able to obtain £10,000. But he is still despondent and complains of "the poverty of Calcutta and the English in general." It will take at least four or five years to save as many thousand pounds. "If Mr. Zoffany had arrived at this time in India, instead of when he did (9), it would have made a difference of full £10,000 in his receipts" (10). Macpherson had given him orders already to paint six large miniatures at Rs. 1,000 each, but he had determined first to go to Lucknow to do some work for the Nabob Vizier. Everything in Calcutta was "amazingly expensive". He is paying Rs. 500 a month for his house and is obliged to have such a crowd of servants "as would astonish you" (11).

On June 1, 1786, he tells his brother that he has been ill for three months and unable to do any work. He was at Lucknow and was engaged to paint the Nabob and the Shahzada, "heir apparent to the Great Mogul," from whom he expected a very large reward. But "poverty and distress are pervading every part of India": and his hopes are "much lowered since his arrival." He had, however, made £500 which he had remitted by way of China. If he could scrape together another £5,000, he would be satisfied and return home. "The heat is such, we sit in darkness and perspiration all day long. The confinement by the sun is as effectual as the walls of the Bastille" (12).

(9) As a matter of fact, Zoffany arrived in India in September, 1783, only two years before Humphry, and remained in the country until 1789. Claude Martin, writing from Lucknow on March 11, 1789, to Humphry in London, says that Zoffany had taken his passage to Europe in an Italian ship, the *Grande Duchesse*.

(10) The complaint of "bad business" is echoed by Thomas Daniell in a letter written by him from Patna on November 7, 1788, to Humphry in London. He has been quite unable (he says) to sell a bundle of prints which Humphry had left with him. "The commonest bazar is full of prints." Hodges' Indian views are "selling off by cart loads" but at ruinous prices. "Although framed and glazed they are bought for less money than the glass alone could be purchased in the bazar: so have times changed." Neither Zoffany nor Devis are "doing very much at present in the way of painting": and he himself is on his way to Garhwal. (For an account of this journey see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-74.)

(11) Cf. Joseph Farington's account of his conversation with Samuel Davis, of Benares spear fame, who was Accountant-General at Calcutta from 1804 to 1806: "Davis talked about the expense of living at Calcutta. He said that He thought £3,000 a year was a sum required to live handsomely, and that it would go as far as the same sum wd. do in London. House rent is very dear at Calcutta. His House cost him £600 a yr. unfurnished. Butcher's meat, poultry, butter, etc. are much cheaper than in London. A fine sirloin of Beef costs 1s. 6d. leg of mutton 2s. 6d. Many servants are required, but their wages are very low, not more than £10 a yr. Wine costs abt. as much as it does in London." (Diary, September 16, 1811).

(12) Humphry's letters are preserved in the Library of the Royal Academy, and have been summarized by Dr. Williamson in his book.

These extracts enable us to understand the frame of mind in which Humphry undertook his journey to India. He was evidently under the impression that a large fortune was to be had for the asking. Moreover, his dislike and dread of competition amounted almost to mania. He regrets leaving Calcutta, for "it may make room for Mr. Smart who is now at Madras" (13). If Smart came to Calcutta (he writes on November 26, 1785), he would be obliged to paint in oils to keep abreast of him. A little later, he is still more disturbed by the arrival of Mrs. Diana Hill (14), another miniature painter, "a most unlucky importation;" and declares (in the same letter of June 1, 1786) that he would rather have all the male painters in England landed in Bengal than this one woman.

At this point reference may usefully be made to the copy of Mr. James Dunkin's brief in the case, which was sent by William Hickey to Macpherson, and from which the following extracts have been taken by Sir William Foster. It is stated in the plaintiff's bill, which represents Humphry's view of the matters in dispute, that he was cordially received by Macpherson on his arrival in Calcutta and was employed to paint several portraits for him. The suggestion that he should go to Lucknow proceeded from Macpherson: but other friends advised against it and Humphry informed Macpherson, who assured him that he would be given such letters to the Nabob Vizier and others as would secure much business for him than at Calcutta where he was (he says) earning Rs. 1,000 a week. Macpherson also promised a written commission to paint for him portraits of the Nabob Vizier, the

(13) John Smart, the elder (1741-1811), was the best of the eighteenth century miniature painters. He received permission to go out to India in 1784, and returned in 1795. (Dr. Williamson is strangely in error in asserting that he went out with the Impeys in 1774.) His prices at Madras for miniatures, according to Humphry, were "the same for bracelets as Mr. Willison's for a three-quarter length" (75 pagodas) "and for larger miniatures in proportion." A daughter accompanied him, to Madras and married Robert Woolf of the company's service (writer 1779) on July 11, 1786. Woolf became Accountant General at Fort Saint George in 1795, returned to Europe in 1803, and died on March 2, 1836. The painter's son, John Smart the younger, came out at a later date and died in Madras on June 1, 1809; cf. *Farington Diary*, February 11, 1810: "Dance [R. A.] spoke of John Smart the miniature Painter, and told us Smart's son went to the East Indies not long since and died at Madrass the last summer. "He was also a miniature painter.

(14) Diana Hill was the daughter-in-law (says Humphry) of Mrs. Hill of Newman Street—"a pretty widow with two children who has adventured across the immense ocean in search of a provision." She "has great merit" and was a pupil of Jeremiah Meyer (1735-1789) a foundation member of the Royal Academy. "Her brother Mr. Hill being a vrey popular character high in the Company's service," [John Hill, writer 1773, was assistant to the Resident at Lucknow from 1776 to 1783], she is being "universally patronized." On November 7, 1788. Thomas Daniell tells Humphry (who was then in London) that Mrs. Hill was still at work in Calcutta "making handsome faces" in the house in which Humphry had lived. But he was writing from Patna: and did not know that she had found a second husband. On November 15, 1788, she was married at St. John's Church, Calcutta to Captain Thomas Herriott. A miniature by her of William Larkins was bequeathed to the India Office in 1924 and has been placed in the council chamber close to Romney's portrait of Warren Hastings, which was the gift of Larkins: see Sir William Foster's article in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, p. 226.

Shahzada (son of the Emperor who was then residing at Lucknow), the Nabob's son and ministers, and others. He undertook further that if the Nabob did not pay Humphry, he would, and that Humphry should be no loser by his journey.

Accordingly, Humphry declined fresh business in Calcutta and set out for Lucknow, with a letter of recommendation from Macpherson to the Nabob. At Benares he found Charles Smith (15) who informed him that he also had a letter of recommendation, dated June 1785, from Macpherson to the Nabob Vizier and was going to Lucknow, where he arrived sixteen hours after Humphry. While Humphry was at Cawnpore, Colonel Blair (15A) gave him the news that Zoffany had gone about twelve days earlier to Agra and Delhi in company with Mr. Wombwell (whose portrait is one of those in the famous picture of "The Cock Match"), and offered him an escort in case he cared to join them: but Humphry declined.

Humphry stayed at Lucknow with Captain Robert Frith who had accompanied Warren Hastings to Benares in 1784 and had been left behind in command of a portion of the Nawab Vizier's forces (16). His first discouragement came when Col. Harper the Resident (17) told him that it was unlucky that both he and Smith should be at Lucknow together, as well as Zoffany who was in high esteem with the Nawab: and added that the Nawab was not very liberal and that Humphry must not expect too much.

Humphry wrote to Macpherson to that effect, expressing much apprehension. A reply dated March 10, 1786, was received from Mr. Francis Magnus, stating that Macpherson desired him to stay in Lucknow: and in a second letter he was encouraged to keep up his spirits. Macpherson charged

(15) Charles Smith came out in the *Belmont* (Capt. William Dick Gamage) in 1783. He is mentioned in the *East India Calendar* for 1798 as a portrait painter at Lucknow. But there is a letter on the Bengal Proceedings for January, 1797, asking for a passage to Europe for C. Smith: and this must be he, for he published in London in 1802 a "musical entertainment" entitled "A trip to Bengal," which he dedicated to Sir John Macpherson "in grateful acknowledgment of the patronage and hospitality experienced during a residence of several years in Bengal" (see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV. p. 100). Thereafter, he must have returned to India, for the name of "C. Smith, portrait painter, Lucknow" appears in the *India Register* for 1806 and the five following years. He died at Leith in Scotland in 1824 at the age of seventy-five.

(15A) Colonel William Blair joined the Bengal Army as a Major in 1768, was appointed Governor of Chunar Fort in 1780, and was now commanding the first brigade of Company's troops. He died in Stratford Place (London) in 1814 at the age of eighty-four. Humphry painted a miniature of his daughter (see post).

(16) Frith was appointed to the First Rissala of Cavalry at Futty Ghur in 1787 (*Calcutta Gazette*, July 12, 1787). In 1790 he and his regiment escorted Lord Cornwallis to Madras for the second campaign against Tippoo Sultan. Charges were brought against him that his men refused to face the enemy, whereupon he demanded a court of enquiry and was justified by a court strongly hostile to him. He took the lead in 1795, with Major Popham, in the agitation of the Bengal European Officers for redress of their grievances: and probably suffered for this breach of discipline, since in 1807 his son (Col. Warren Hastings Leslie Frith) writes from Agra to say that he has died in very poor circumstances.

(17) Colonel Gabriel Harper resigned the Company's service in 1788 and was succeeded as Resident by Edward Otto Ives.

him not to paint in oils, so as to avoid competition with Smith. Humphry consequently declined all commissions of that nature both at Lucknow and at Benares.

On March 31, 1786, Macpherson again wrote to Humphry, saying that he hoped the Nawab and his ministers would employ him; if not, he should be no loser.

On May 4, 1786, Humphry wrote that he had been presented to the Nawab who had sat twice to him and to Smith, both painting simultaneously. The Shahzada had likewise given two sittings. The Nawab had ordered a copy of Humphry's miniature of Macpherson: but he was still depressed over his prospects and feared that Col. Harper would not back him. His health had not been improved by the change to Lucknow, and he intended to return to England in the spring.

Humphry finished portraits of the Nawab, the Shahzada, the Nawab's son, Hasan Reza Khan, Hyder Beg Khan, and the copy of the miniature of Macpherson. Upon being informed of this Macpherson wrote on June 19 that he would, if necessary, himself pay for the pictures and advised Humphry to return at the rains. On June 26, Humphry wrote that Col. Harper had refused to apply to the Nawab for payment except for a specific amount. He had then pointed out that Willison at the Arcot Durbar was paid double price for whatever he painted, and that he felt justified therefore in claiming double what he would have received at Calcutta, namely Rs. 1,000 a week, for the twenty-three and a half weeks from January 17 to the end of June. He claimed accordingly sicca Rs. 47,000. Willison had been paid between Rs. 17,000 and Rs. 20,000 by the Nawab of Arcot and his second son.

Humphry was informed that the Nawab would pay him, but not all at once. Rs. 5,000 was paid in cash and an assignment was given on the revenue for Rs. 42,000, which was of no value. He offered to sell the assignment for Rs. 21,000 or to make an abatement: but nothing came of the suggestion.

On July 16, he received a letter from Macpherson advising him of the arrival in Calcutta of other artists—Carter (18) and Mrs. Hill. He left Lucknow about July 26, and went to Cawnpore, arriving in Calcutta about November 10.

He alleges that the Rs. 42,000 will only meet his travelling expenses and that the pictures remain unpaid for: that Macpherson was unwilling to buy: and that he offered on January 10, 1787, to submit the matter to

(18) George Carter (1737-1794) came out in the *Manship*, which arrived at Diamond Harbour on June 9, 1786 (see article by Sir William Foster in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 3, 4). There is a notice of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which makes no mention of his residence in India, but from which it appears that he died at Hendon in Middlesex in September, 1794. In 1791 he published a "Narrative of the Loss of the *Grosvenor*," based upon information supplied by John Hynes, one of the survivors, who was a seaman on the *Manship*: and among the pictures by him which are advertised for sale by auction in the *Calcutta Gazette* of December 5, 1793, is "the Death of Master Law, a passenger by the *Grosvenor*".

arbitration. The assignment is invalid and cannot be enforced: and he claims sicca Rs. 42,000 from Macpherson.

The reply of Macpherson took the form of a complete denial of liability. He had employed Humphry to paint his portrait as an encouragement and had recommended him to visit the Upper Provinces as Calcutta did not suit him. He had promised him introductions but never deputed him to go to Lucknow nor did he want the pictures painted there. Had he wanted them a superior artist was already at Lucknow (18A).

Hickey in the notes sent by him to Macpherson, describes Humphry as eccentric and bad tempered. Free dawks had been provided for him to Lucknow and back: and no question of travelling expenses could arise. He had annoyed Col. Harper and had left Captain Frith's house abruptly, without notice or thanks.

We now come to the story told by Hickey in the deleted portion of the manuscript of his Memoirs, which I have been able to examine by the courtesy of Mr. Alfred Spencer, and from which I am permitted to quote. It abounds in picturesque touches, as might be expected, and although it is naturally one-sided, it fits in with the admissions made by Humphry himself.

"Mr. Ozias Humphry, an eminent miniature painter in London, ambitious of making a rapid fortune, quitted the drudgery of his profession in the British capital and following the example of his brother artists Mr. Kettle, Hodges, Smith and others (19), who had met with much success in the East," arrived in Calcutta with letters of introduction and recommendation to the men in power in India. Among these was Governor Macpherson, who persuaded several wealthy Indian gentlemen to sit for their portraits, "all of whom paid most liberally" (20): Some of these persons expressed surprise that he did not make an excursion to the Upper Provinces, "where he would find continual employment for his talents."

Humphry consulted Macpherson who declined to give him permission, as the Court of Directors had recently complained of the number of Europeans who had found their way into the dominions of the "country powers," and had ordered that no private individual should be allowed to proceed further than Moorshedabad. Six months later Humphry renewed his application, and obtained a reluctant consent. The requisite papers were prepared, and the artist was furnished with "warm recommendations" to the Residents at the various courts and to the Nawab of Moorshedabad, the Nawab Wazir, and other notabilities at Lucknow, Benares, and "the famous old city" of Delhi. In these letters says Hickey, "Mr. Humphry

The Victoria Memorial Hall possesses a specimen of his work in the shape of a portrait of a certain Thomas Henderson who was connected with the Military Orphanage, then at Howrah.

(18A) The allusion is obviously to Zoffany.

(19) Tilly Kettle received permission to proceed to India in September 1768, and had returned by December 1776, for he applies for leave to take delivery of five paintings sent from Bengal in the *Hillsborough* which arrived in the Downs on August 17 of that year.

William Hodges seems to have reached Madras early in 1780, and went home with the *Impeys* on board the *Worcester* in January, 1784.

(20) Where are those portraits now?

was spoken of as an Artist of uncommon merit, who was travelling with the double object of exploring countries he had never seen, and at the same time making the most of his abilities in his profession."

Thus armed, Humphry set out on his journey and, "after meeting with a degree of success beyond his most sanguine expectations at Cossimbazar, Moorshedabad, Patna, and Benaras, where he was fully employed, being paid whatever price he chose to put upon his labour," he presented himself at the court of the Nawab Wazir.

Asaf-ud-Daula was the fourth of his line and reigned from 1775 to 1797. The first three had made Fyzabad their headquarters. He preferred to live at a distance from his mother (one of the "Begums of Oude" made famous by Burke's rhetoric) and accordingly removed the capital to Lucknow which he transformed from a village into a town, building the Imambara, the Rumi Darwaza, the palace which afterwards became the Residency, and a bridge across the Gumti. Thomas Twining, who visited Lucknow in 1795, says of him that "in polished and agreeable manners, in public magnificence, in private generosity, and, it must be admitted, in wasteful profusion, Asaf-ud-Dowlah, King of Oude, might probably be compared with the most splendid sovereigns of Europe." Others were more discriminating in their praise. The author of the *Siyar almuta' akhkhirin* charges him with association with the lowest and most worthless characters. Major Lewis Ferdinand Smith, writing in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1804, notes the same inability to differentiate between the bad and the good. His extravagance was such that he left the treasury absolutely empty at his death: and much of the wealth which he squandered went into the pockets of the European adventurers who flocked to his court. All types were represented from traders such as James Paull to painters such as Zoffany and astute men of the world such as Claude Martin.

The pictures having been painted the question of payment naturally arose. "It was a well-known fact," says Hickey "that this Prince was so profuse that he was constantly distressed for ready cash, consequently dilatory in his payments—but he never scrupled to enter into a bond for the amount due with an interest of twelve per cent., which he cheerfully gave to every creditor." Humphry was informed of this peculiarity, and "having no immediate call for cash, he was glad to take the Vizier's bonds, as they bore so high a rate of interest."

According to Dr. G. C. Williamson, the original arrangement was that Humphry was to receive Rs. 47,000, and his account for that sum was presented to Col. Harper, the Resident, and approved by him. The Nawab was, however, so pleased with the miniature that he raised the amount to Rs. 50,000. Of this Rs. 5,000 was paid in ready money, and a bond was given for the balance of Rs. 45,000, due in twelve months at twelve per cent interest. Col. Harper, assured Humphry that the security was good and he accepted the bond (21).

(21) As regards the amount of the bond, we have already seen that Humphry gives the figure of Rs. 42,000 in his statement of claim.

He seems, however, to have repented of the bargain as soon as he had made it. The sequel is thus told by Hickey:

Upon hearing that Mr. Macpherson was likely soon to leave India (22), he set off at once by dawk bearers for Calcutta, and instructed his attorney, Mr. William Johnson, to call on the ex-Governor-General, and make the following announcement. Considering it more respectful to make the demand he was directed to do personally than by letter, he had taken the liberty of calling to let him know that Mr. Humphry had executed the commissions he had honoured him with, by painting miniatures of the Vizier and others whom he named, the amount due for which was 25,000 sicca rupees, which sum he trusted Sir John Macpherson would have the goodness to pay previous to his departure for Europe.

Sir John's reply was an explosion of wrath. "Confounded at such a claim and at the base ingratitude of the man who made it, he expressed himself in strong language thereat," and flatly declined to comply with the demand.

If we are to believe Hickey, Johnson thereupon informed his client that an action at law upon such material as he possessed stood little chance of success. But Humphry insisted that in the letters addressed to Robert Pott at Moorshedabad and John Wombwell at Lucknow, Macpherson had particularly stated that the principal object of Humphry's visit to Lucknow was to paint the portrait of the Nawab Vizier for him (Macpherson). "Justice he would have, let the purchase of it be ever so dear!" A bill in equity was accordingly prepared and filed: and notice given to the defendant, who requested Hickey to act for him.

As Macpherson, according to Hickey, was now due to leave Calcutta in two days, the utmost expedition was needed to draw the answer, lay it before counsel for perusal and settlement, and obtain the approval of the client. Matters were so far arranged: but before the document could be engrossed and signed, Macpherson went on board the pilot schooner which was to convey him to the *Berrington* Indiaman, which was lying, as usual, off the Barrabulla sands (23), and "dropped down the river one tide's

(22) Macpherson made over charge of the office of Governor-General to Lord Cornwallis on September 12, 1786: but did not embark immediately. Hickey writes (Vol. III, p. 308): "In December [1786] Sir John Macpherson (the Minister, as some sort of recompense for superceding him in his Government having made him a baronet) and Sir Robert Sloper [the Commander-in-Chief] took their passages for Europe." The account of Humphry's action in the Supreme Court follows upon this passage. The incident is said to have occurred a fortnight before Macpherson's departure.

(23) These sands were a favourite anchorage for Indiamen. They are not shown on modern survey maps: but John Ritchie's map (1770) places them in lat. 21' 40" between Saugor Island and the western shore. They are also marked on Thornton's chart of the Bay of Bengal attached to the 1703 edition of the *Bengal Pilot*. The *Ganges*, a "country ship" (Captain Frayer), bound for Madras and China with passengers and cargo, was wrecked near these sands on May 23, 1787. Sixty-five of the 113 persons on board were drowned.

way," about a mile below the old powder mills (24). Hickey set two clerks to work all night, and by that means the document was ready by ten o'clock the next morning. He then presented a petition to the Court to issue a commission for the taking of the defendant's signature. The prayer was granted by consent, and Hickey was named as commissioner, jointly with Isaac Golledge, the master of the pilot schooner (25).

He set out accordingly. "General Carnac, hearing I was going after Sir John, and having just reached Calcutta from the Upper Provinces (26) was desirous of taking leave of his friend, and proposed accompanying me." They arrived on board the pilot schooner "just as dinner was putting on the table, and after an excellent meal washed down with well cooled claret, we finished the business." By this time it was past nine at night and supper was served. At ten the return journey to the powder mills was begun. The night was dark and foggy: but in spite of the warnings of Hickey and of Golledge, "General Carnac ridiculed the idea of a compass to steer by." The result was that "after a cold and comfortless cruize of upwards of four hours," they found themselves once more alongside the schooner. Mr. Golledge, the pilot, now came to their rescue, and sent them ashore in his own boat. But on landing at the powder mills, they discovered that their carriage had gone: and they were obliged to walk for upwards of four miles along a narrow road to Macpherson's garden-house, to the accompaniment of much grumbling by Hickey's companion, "who was then turned of seventy years of age." Here they knocked up the coachman,

(24) The old powder mills were about eight miles below Calcutta. Hastings also went home in the *Berrington*, and Mr. Justice Hyde records in his note book on February 1, 1785, that "the Governor-General goes on board his boat from the Powder Mills at four o'clock this afternoon."

(25) "One of the most respectable and experienced pilots in the service" (Hickey, Vol. IV, p. 7). He subsequently became deputy to the master attendant (Cudbert Thornhill) and died in Calcutta on April 3, 1802.

(26) Carnac had come from Bombay. He sailed from that place on October 16, 1786, in the *Queen* Indiaman, Capt. Peter Douglas, and arrived in Calcutta on December 16. Macpherson went on board the *Berrington* on January 27, 1787. On July 2 (we read in the *Calcutta Gazette* of July 5, 1787) "was launched from the Marine Yard a very fine copper bottomed ship of about 700 tons burthen which was named by General Carnac the *Clive*—the largest vessel that ever was built at Calcutta. She is the property of Mr. Anthony Lambert [Sheriff of Calcutta in 1792] who after the launch gave an elegant dinner to a very numerous company at the Old Court House and a ball in the evening to the ladies."

John Carnac had fought at Plassey and entered the Company's service as a captain from Adlercron's regiment (the 39th Foot) in 1768. He accompanied Clive to England in 1767 with a fortune of nearly £33,000, which he received as his share of the money distributed at the accession of Najm-ud-Daula to the *musnud* of Moorshedabad. After sitting in the House of Commons as member for Leominster from 1768 to 1774, he was appointed member of Council at Bombay in 1776 but was dismissed in 1780 for his share in concluding the convention of Wargaum with the Mahrattas. He remained in India and died on November 29, 1800, at the age of eighty-four, at Mangalore on the West Coast. With Macpherson, Stables and Zoffany himself, he figures in that painter's picture of "A Tiger Hunt near Chandernagore," which has recently been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall. In 1794 he paid another visit to Calcutta. The *Bombay Courier* records that he sailed from Bombay for Bengal on September, and reached Madras on September 25.

and eventually reached Calcutta at six in the morning, "the old General swearing he would for the rest of his life take care to avoid cruising in the dark."

Upon the answer being filed, Johnson (says Hickey), "like a true friend and honest solicitor," again warned Humphry that "there was no possibility of going on with the suit," and advised him to apply for leave to dismiss his own bill on payment of the plaintiff's costs, "as the shortest way of finishing a bad business." Humphry, however, refused to be deterred from continuing the cause, "he having incontestible evidence to support the case stated in the bill." Interrogatories were therefore prepared, and "in due time" witnesses were examined. For a summary of the evidence, recourse must again be had to the Macpherson papers.

George Young, jeweller of Calcutta supplied the interesting information that Humphry on arrival lived with Mr. Stables (27) in Mrs. Hastings' house. This is, of course, the house now known as 7, Hastings Street, which was for so many years in the occupation of Messrs. Burn and Company. Two admirably painted punkha-boards may still be seen in the billiard-room, on which hunting-scenes with elephants are represented. Young further deposed that he set seventeen miniatures for Humphry from August 1785 to January, 1786.

Claude Martin testified to Humphry's presence in Lucknow: and declared that "his portraits had some resemblance." *Tuncas* (assignments of revenue) were usual and were paid by the "farmers."

Gavin Hamilton, merchant of Calcutta (28), said that Humphry painted a miniature of him, about 11½ inches in diameter, in about eight days: but no miniature of him, about 11½ inches in diameter, in about eight days: but no charge was made. Humphry painted the two Daniells in the same week. To the best of his belief, Charles Smith charged sixteen gold mohurs.

Hurro Khan, Humphry's consumah [Khansama] deposed that his master spent three and a half months at Benares and eight months at Lucknow.

Thomas Daniell sat to Humphry on February 18, 1787. The portrait was finished on the 24th. Humphry told him that his usual charge for that size was Rs. 500. He believed that Humphry could paint five or six miniatures a week and make Rs. 10,000 a month.

John Zoffany testified that Humphry while at Lucknow painted portraits of Wombwell, [John] Kennaway, Vernet, [John] Howe, [George] Johnstone, and the Nabob Vizier. Wombwell paid Rs. 1,000 for a smaller miniature than the Nabob's. The other gentlemen paid Rs. 500.

(27) John Stables succeeded Francis as Member of Council at Fort William in 1782 and held office until 1787. He had served in the Company's army from 1759 to 1769, and commanded a battalion at the battle of Buxar. Romney painted a group of his wife and two daughters, and was paid fifty guineas. The picture was engraved by John Raphael Smith in 1781 and a first state of the mezzotint was sold for 540 guineas at Christie's on December 16, 1913. Stables died in 1796.

(28) Gavin Hamilton came out in the *Glatton* in 1778.

James Grant as to whom there is much to be found in the second volume of Hickey's Memoirs (29), entertained Humphry at Benares. While there Humphry painted nine portraits of Indian gentlemen: and Grant advanced him the amount claimed in payment Rs. 8,117.

Robert Percival Pott had been told by Humphry at Moorshedabad that he came to India to gain knowledge, and not to make money.

John Wombwell spoke to the portraits of himself, Johnstone, Stokoe, and Captains Burnett, Sloper, Kennaway and Howe, which Humphry had painted at Lucknow (29A). He paid Rs. 500 for his portrait (and not Rs. 1,000, as Zoffany had stated).

Colonel Gabriel Harper said that Humphry was paid for the portraits which he had painted at Lucknow. While he received cash, the Englishmen in the Nabob's employ had twelve months' or more salary owing to them.

In his Memoirs Hickey mentions the names of certain other witnesses, who gave evidence for Macpherson: Mr. Edward Maxwell, the advocate and police magistrate, Mr. Bazett, of the firm of Colvins and Bazett, Mr. Edward Hay, secretary to Government, and Mr. Francis Magnus. To these he adds Mr. Pott and Mr. Wombwell. The first four deposed that Humphry had frequently professed his sense of obligation to the Governor-General for granting him leave to go "up the country: " and Pott and Wombwell flatly contradicted the assertion of Humphry that Macpherson had informed them that he had commissioned him to paint portraits at Lucknow. Humphry "failed in every attempt, nor could he prove one tittle of the statements in his bill, which was consequently dismissed with costs, the Judges declaring they had never known an instance of an attempt so groundless whereon to commence and prosecute to hearing a suit in equity."

At this point, Hickey's recollection plays him false, as might well be, for he was writing after 1809 of an event which had occurred twenty years earlier. He says: "Humphry's shameful and ungrateful conduct was equally reprobated by the whole settlement, from the disagreeable consequence of which he withdrew by embarking for Europe a few days after the trial." But the case was heard, as we have seen, in March, 1789: and Humphry returned to Europe in the *Earl of Oxford*, which left Kedgeree

(29) James Grant came out with Hickey in the *Plassey* in 1769 and saved him and Jacob Rider from drowning "when overset in a canoe" at the island of Johanna. In 1778 he fought a duel with "Bob" Pott, who wounded him in the leg. Pott was a "staunch Hastingsite" and Grant was "equally zealous on the part of Caving," "the Governor-General of a day." He subsequently resigned the Company's service and when Hickey met him in London in 1780 had become a West India merchant in partnership with his brother Peter (Hickey, Vol. II, p. 271). In 1784 he returned to Bengal (Vol. III, p. 204): and was now "Chief" at Benares.

(29A) Robert Percival Pott (the "Bob" Pott of Hickey's Memoirs) was Collector of Government Customs at Moorshedabad and John Wombwell Accountant at Lucknow. John Kennaway is the future baronet and Resident at Hyderabad. George Johnstone, subsequently M. P. for Hindon, was assistant to the Resident at Lucknow: Captain Joseph Burnett was commissary of ordnance at Cawnpore: and Joseph Stokoe an ensign in the Bengal Engineers.

exactly two years before—on March 14, 1787—and anchored in the Downs on September 18. Macpherson went on board the *Berrington* on January 27, 1787, and sailed two days later, arriving in the Downs on August 11. It is curious that Humphry, writing from the Cape on June 8, 1787, should mention that he was "unfortunately" not able to travel with Macpherson on the *Berrington*: for the company of neither could have been congenial to the other.

Humphry never received payment from the Nawab of the amount of the bond. But the fault did not lie altogether with the debtor. On May 7, 1809, Joseph Farington records in his Diary: "Humphry has talked to Paine (30) of £10,000 having been offered Him for His claim in India. Paine advised Him to take it, on which Humphry flew into a passion and asked Him how he could pretend to judge His affairs." A week or two later—on June 16—there is another entry: "Wm. Daniell said Humphry's nephew had informed him that at one period the Nabob, who was indebted to Humphry abt. £3,000, wd. have paid the principal, but Humphry insisted upon interest with it and got nothing."

Had he like Zoffany persuaded the Resident to endorse his account against the Nawab and guarantee payment, he might eventually have recovered the debt (31). The obstinacy with which he demanded the payment of interest as well as principal had already been exhibited in his refusal to accept Johnson's advice to withdraw his suit against Macpherson, who treated him with generosity and, says Hickey, "never thought it worth while to enforce the decree and press for the amount of his taxed costs, which was considerable." The sum in question, as stated on the brief, was sicca Rs. 5,100.

Humphry was elected a Royal Academician in 1791 (32): but failing sight compelled to give up the painting of miniatures. He turned to crayon drawing and was appointed Portrait Painter in crayons to the King. In later years he developed eccentricities. On May 21, 1808, Farington notes that "Humphry showed me that He had His Coat, Six Waistcoats, and

(30) Humphry was an unsuccessful suitor of the elder daughter of James Paine senior, the architect. The younger, Mary, married Tilly Kettle and died in 1806. Their brother James Paine junior was a painter in water colours.

(31) It must be admitted, however, that Zoffany was among the fortunate ones. Thomas Daniell suffered the same fate as Humphry. William Daniell, writing to his mother from "Baghulpoor" on July 30, 1790, says: "The Nabob commissioned Mr. D. to make a set of views about Lucknow, which he undertook, and under many disadvantages, it being then the rainy season, completed them which took him three months. The Nabob received them, but Mr. D. could never get the smallest retribution for his time and trouble." (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 179.) Claude Martin wrote to Humphry (March 11, 1789) that the Nawab did not like paying Europeans, and "if one could see his heart, it would be found loaded with dark and sinister intentions."

(32) A strange history attaches to Humphry's diploma picture at Burlington House. It disappeared and was missing for many years: until it was purchased at a sale in 1921 by Sir William Plender and restored by him to its place in the gallery. It is a miniature and represents the Ladies Maria and Horatia Waldegrave (two of the three sisters in Sir Joshua

His Shirt on His body and said that Dr. Pearson some years ago told Him that by warmth alone He might hope to counteract a weakness of his stomach." He became totally blind in 1797 and died in 1810 at the age of sixty-seven. There are three entries in Farington's diary on the subject of his death, and two of these are of a remarkable character:—

March 11, 1810.—(Thomas) Daniell informed me of the death of Ozias Humphry, R.A., who died on Friday morning, the 9th instant, at 6 o'clock at his apartments at Mrs. Spicer's in Thornhaugh Street (Bedford Square). His nephew the son of the Rev. Wm. Humphry of Seale near Seven Oaks in Kent, gave Daniell the information to-day and sd. it was proposed to bury Him in the burying-ground of St. James's Chapel, Tottenham Court Road.

June 29, 1810.—(John) Taylor sd. that the night before Ozias Humphry died, He told his nephew that He had not long to live and requested that as soon as He shd. be dead He wd. go or write to Mr. Taylor of the Sun (newspaper) office and inform Him of it, adding "That he knew Mr. Taylor would not let him go out of the world witht. giving some notice of Him to the public." Accordingly Taylor recd. the information and wrote a favourable acct. of Him. Such was Humphry's anxiety to be held up as a character in society.

June 30, 1810.—(Benjamin) West spoke of Ozias Humphry and mentioned a singular anecdote of him. The evening before he died he desired that immediately after his death a person should be sent with his compliments to Mr. West and to inform him that He was dead. Accordingly a man called upon West the following morning with the message as thus stated. This arose from Humphry's habitual desire of importance and the fear of this event not being properly published.

There can be no doubt that Humphry stands in the front rank of English miniature painters. But what would he have said, one wonders, to the action tried before Mr. Justice Darling in 1917, in which Romney was adjudged to be his superior as an artist? An American collector bought for £20,000 a portrait-group of Mrs. Siddons and her sister, which was guaranteed to be the work of Romney. Two or three years later, doubts were thrown upon the authenticity of the guarantee, and the purchaser brought an action for the return of his money against the London firm of dealers who had sold him the picture. At the trial the artist was proved to have been Humphry. Would he have been flattered at the importance which he attracted, or chagrined at being mistaken for Romney?

Reynolds' famous picture) with a fortune-teller. In 1788 Humphry had exhibited at the Royal Academy a painting of a similar type which he entitled "A Bramin in India telling the fortune of some English ladies."

It so happens that there is a remarkably fine portrait of Humphry by Romney at Knole (33); and, by a further coincidence, Humphry's pictures were sold a month or two after his death at Christie's along with Romney's (34). Among these were several crayon drawings of Warren Hastings; and there is an oval miniature of Hastings (4½ inches by 3½ inches) in the collection of Mr. F. Hampden Turner. The figure is half length, facing the spectator and seated by a stone wall, on which hangs a green curtain, near to an open window: the arms are folded and the head and eyes turned very slightly to the right. Hastings is wearing a black coat with large buttons, a scarlet vest, lace cravat and ruffles, and a powdered wig. An engraving by William Greatbach forms one of the plates in Bentley's *Miscellany* for 1841 (35).

Humphry also painted a charming miniature of Mrs. Hastings in a muslin hat and tulle dress, which was once in the Turner collection, but has disappeared. It was, however, engraved by Greatbach, and a reproduction may be seen in Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings* (Bentley, 1841) and also in Sir Charles Lawson's book (1905).

Numerous commissions were executed by Humphry in India, if we may judge from a statement of "money due to me for pictures finished and delivered," which is contained in one of his note books preserved at the British Museum (Add. MS. 22949-22951): "Governor-General, 1,000, Mrs. Hewett 1,000, Mr. Stables 500, Captain Brown Chunar 700, Mr. Sturt 700, Mrs. Keighley 532, Miss Blair 532, Mr. Atkinson 500: R. 5464. Half price for a whole length figure of Mr. Treves due from Mr. Scawen, 500, Mr. J. N. Stuart Budgerow 100, Mr. Bullers drawing 200, Mr. Ewart miniature 500, Mr. Smoult 200. Pictures sent to Benares to James Augustus Grant: Dec., 28, 1786 Gopaul Doss R. 800, Sheer Jung 600, his two sons 1,000, Aussar Sing Babo 600, Resident 500, Two Dalet Ali Beg 120 each, Deleep Sing 700, Rajah Maha Narrain 1200: 6600 " (36).

(33) Another portrait of Humphry will be found in Henry Singleton's group picture of the "Royal Academicians in Session, 1802." Benjamin West (the President) Joseph Farington (a prominent figure) and William Hodges are introduced: but not Thomas Danielli, although he was elected R. A. in 1796. The self-portrait, which is reproduced as a frontispiece, is in the Royal Academy Library and has been used by Dr. Williamson to illustrate his *Life of Humphry*.

(34) In a letter of May 21, 1810 to Humphry's relatives, William Upcott, his natural son, announces the sale of his "godfather's" pictures (Williamson). Upcott has been called the father of autograph collecting: and his house at 102, Upper Street, Islington, where he died on September 23, 1845, was known as Autograph Cottage.

(35) A sketch for this portrait is at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The pose and dress are described at length because they differ entirely from those in the bad engraving by Edward Finden alleged to be taken from a portrait by Humphry, which is reproduced as an illustration to "Johnsoniana or a Supplement to Boswell," a book published in 1836 (see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, p. 115). Hastings is there represented as a small and emaciated man, of youthful appearance, seated at a table upon which both his hands are placed, holding a book.

(36) William Nathan Wrighte Hewett (writer 1773, Salt agent at Hijli 1786-1796) married Martha Tuting on September 16, 1785. Admiral Sir W. N. W. Hewett, V.C., was their grandson. Capt. Edward Brown of the Bengal Artillery was commissary of ordnance at

In another note-book are five pencil drawings: "a sketch of the Great Pagoda at Lucknow made on the back of my elephant, May 1786," an "Indostannee Painter," a hookah, and two groups of figures, one of five and the other of three with two Brahmini bulls, both dated "Lucknow 1786." The draftsmanship in each case is of the most finished and delicate character.

It remains to add a word or two regarding the miniatures which Humphry painted at Lucknow. These were five in number, and were portraits of the Nawab, Sahibzada Ali Khan (his son), the Shahzada, Hyder Beg Khan the Prime Minister, and Hassan Reza Khan. Of these he executed fine replicas which were at one time in the possession of Mr. G. A. Pepper Staveley (37) who acquired them in India, and are now owned by his son-in-law, Mr. R. S. Aitchison, of Woodhurstlea, Crawley, Sussex. Reproductions of them will be found in Dr. Williamson's book. Each has upon the back an inscription in the handwriting of Humphry, and all are dated "Lucknow, 1786." The miniature of Hassan Reza Khan is inscribed "Half an hour and 53 minutes: one hour at his house." Humphry exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1788 a "Portrait of Hussein Riza Khan, Prime Minister to the Nabob of Oude, painted at Lucknow in 1786."

This must have been a miniature also: for we have his own definite statement, preserved in the unpublished Macpherson papers, that, in order not to compete with Charles Smith, he declined all commissions to paint in oils both at Lucknow and at Benares. Now, an oil-painting of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula, which we reproduce on the opposite page from a photograph specially taken by Mr. F. Harrington, was bought by Lord Curzon in 1924 for the Victoria Memorial Hall as the work of Ozias Humphry. It is said to have been painted at Lucknow in 1786: and if this be so, it must be the picture mentioned by Humphry in his letter to Macpherson of May 4, 1786, in which he says that the Nawab has sat twice to him and to Smith, *both painting simultaneously*. A photograph of the miniature has been presented

Chunar: he died at Bath in 1826 at the age of seventy. Thomas Napier Lenox Sturt (1767-1837: writer 1783) was deputy paymaster of the troops at Chunar, and afterwards of Buckworth House, Dorset: he was the father of Charles Sturt, the Australian Explorer. Mrs. Maria Keighley was the first wife of John English Keighley (writer 1764) and died in Calcutta on November 11, 1787: there are many references to her and her husband in the third Volume of Hickey's *Memoirs*. Miss Blair was the daughter of Colonel William Blair, mentioned in note (15A). "Mr. Atkinson" may be one or two of that name: Thomas Latham Atkinson (writer 1777) or Michael Atkinson (writer 1780): the latter became commercial resident at Jungypore. Pellegrine Treves (writer 1784) was an assistant at Benares and was second judge of the Court of Appeal at that place in 1799, when Cherry the Resident was murdered by Wazir Ali: he rode off and gave the alarm at the cantonment. John Scawen was deputy military auditor-general. There were two Bullers in Bengal at this time: John (writer 1777) and Henry (writer 1778). Simon Ewart was a writer of 1779. William Smoult, attorney, came out in 1774 with Sir Robert Chambers, who appointed him to be his clerk.

(37) Bengal Civil Service, 1846 to 1873: Judge of Jessore: died at Crawley, Sussex, on October 23, 1890.



NAWAB ASAF-UD-DAULA.

(From the Picture in the Victoria Memorial Hall: possibly painted by Charles Smith).

to the Trustees by Dr. Williamson: and the two paintings can be seen on comparison, to be dissimilar both in pose and in execution. But even if this were not so, the evidence thus afforded by Humphry himself would appear to be conclusive.

EVAN COTTON.

Alexander Grant's Account of the Loss of Calcutta in 1756.

WE are enabled, by the courteous permission of Sir Richard Temple, Bart, to reproduce the following little known and deeply interesting narrative of the capture of Calcutta in 1756 by Suraj-ud-Daula. It was printed for the first time in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1899 (Vol. XXVIII, pp. 293-301). A number of explanatory notes have been added by Sir Evan Cotton.

There is another version of Grant's narrative bound up in a volume of Warren Hastings' papers at the British Museum (Add. MS. 25, 209): and Mr. S. C. Hill has published it in full in his *Bengal in 1756-1757* (Vol. I. pp. 73-89). It differs in style and in many other respects. The following note, which is in another hand and was added after Hastings' death in 1818, has been inserted at the end:

The author of this Paper was it appears, appointed to act as Adjutant General at the siege of Calcutta and deserted the Garrison with the Governor and others. Captn. Minchin, Lieuts. Keen Muir and himself were all the officers that went down to Fulta.

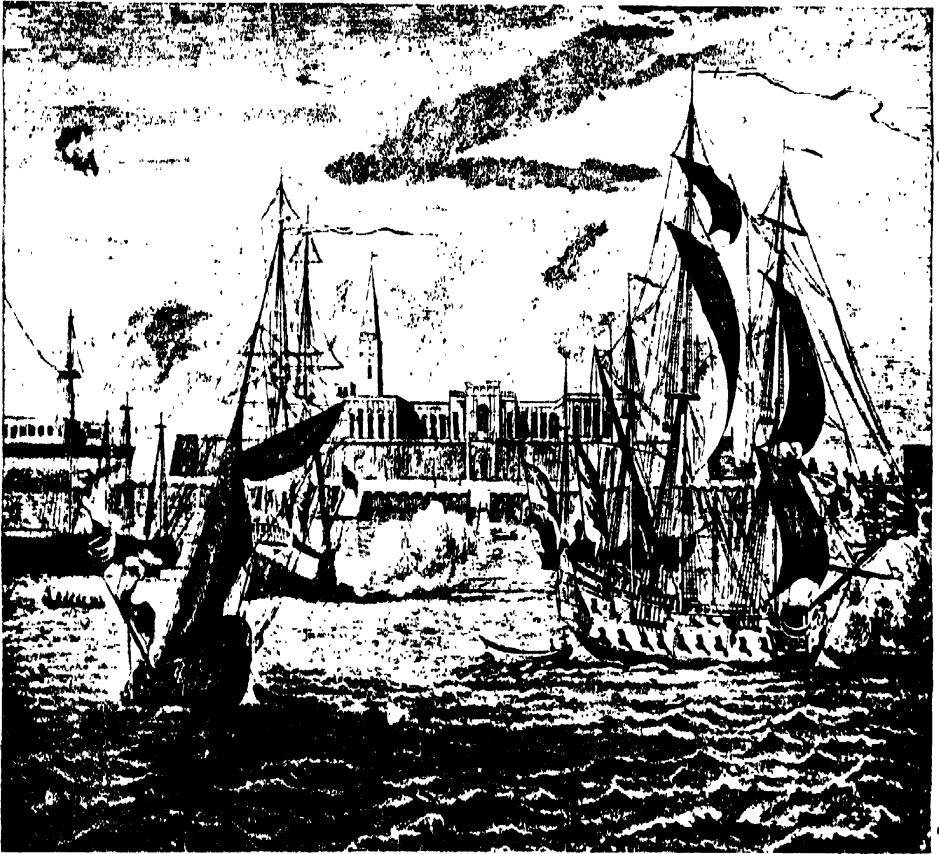
A. C. S. August 10, 1829.

It appears by another account that the Adjutant General was Captn. Grant.

The Orme MSS. (O. V. 19, pp. 173-180) contain a third and briefer version entitled "An Account of Captain Grant's Retreat from Calcutta." This is again different and refers to a missing letter of Grant's to the Council at Fort William, dated August 20, 1756. It is published also by Hill (Vol. I, pp. 89-94).

SIR R. TEMPLE'S INTRODUCTION.

The story of the Black Hole of Calcutta is of perennial interest, and no apology is necessary for the publication of this document, which is a letter by Captain Alexander Grant, "Adjutant-General" of the forces engaged in the defence of Calcutta against the forces of Suraj-ud-Daula, evidently intended to excuse his conduct. Captain George Minchin, the commander, and Captain Grant were dismissed from the East India Company's service for deserting their posts: and Dr. Busteed, who quotes extensively, in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, from the document and puts the case very mildly



FORT WILLIAM AT BENGAL, 1730.

(" Painted and delineated by George Lambert and Samuel Scott ";
from an engraving by G. Vandergucht).

against the deserters, says: "Desertion in the presence of the enemy on the part of those to whose lot had especially fallen the duty of seeing the struggle, however hopeless, to the end, is a charge not to be lightly made. Any reference, therefore, to an occurrence which carried with it so deep a stigma, should in fairness be accompanied by what has been alleged in exculpation of their conduct by those chiefly concerned. Both the Governor [Roger Drake] and the Adjutant General [Alexander Grant] have liberated their consciences on the subject. Their personal narrative, though it may not quite fulfil the object of the writers, will perhaps help us to realise more vividly the scenes in which they were prominent actors." Weak as Grant's letter may appear to us nowadays, it had the effect he desired, along with his other representations, for he was finally reinstated in service (1).

It was on June 19, 1756, that Grant deserted from Calcutta, and his letter was written on July 13 following. The document now published is not, however, the original (2), but a copy made on February 22, 1774, for John Debonnaire from whose heirs I have received it. This John Debonnaire (1724-1795) was one of several of identically the same name who were wealthy merchants of Huguenot descent in London and India during the eighteenth century.

He was known as "the younger" and was part owner of the "Grantham taken by the French and properly condemned as a prize" before 1765 (3).

The copying of the letter by the old writer is obviously incorrect in places and the style is involved throughout. I have, by means of brackets, tried to elucidate the greatest of the difficulties where possible. Also, in the

(1) Grant voted for immediate action at the famous Council held at Cutwa on June 21, 1757, on the way to Plassey. He was said to have fought at Culloden: Cf. Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India* (Edinburgh, 1812), p. 8.—"Sion Fort [which defended the passage from Bombay to the island of Salsette] is manned [1809] by a few invalids, and commanded by General [Kenneth] Macpherson, a Highlander, who was in the battle of Culloden, on the losing side, and who at the age of forty, came to Bombay as a cadet in the Company's army."

(2) The original letter is not among the Orme MSS., but it appears to have been written to Robert Orme or some other correspondent at Fort Saint George. There are several references to "your Settlement."

(3) His son, also John Debonnaire, died in Calcutta on October 20, 1788. The present owner of the Debonnaire MSS., Mr. Charles Tennant, of St. Anne's Manor, Sutton, Lincolnshire, is a first cousin of Sir Richard Temple. He is descended from William Tennant, whose second wife Ann Debonnaire (1775-1829) was the other child of John Debonnaire "the younger."

Another John Debonnaire, known as "the elder," who was the son of Peter Debonnaire and first cousin of John "the younger," was the grandfather of Lord Metcalfe. He is described as "a merchant at Lisbon and in the East Indies" and died in 1756. His daughter Susanna Salina Sophia married at St. Mary's Church, Fort Saint George on August 24, 1776, Major John Smith of the Madras Establishment, a brother of General Richard Smith. He died a year later and on April 18, 1782, she took a second husband at Calcutta in the person of Major Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, Military Store Keeper in Bengal, who was subsequently a Director of the East India Company from 1789 to 1812 and M.P. for Abingdon and was created a baronet in 1803. Their second son, Charles Theophilus Lord Metcalfe, was baptized in Calcutta on April 18, 1785.

MS. the text runs continuously without paragraphs or regular stops and such stops as occur are, after the fashion of the day, wrongly placed or of a description not understood at the present time. For the sake of clearness, therefore, I have paragraphed the text and placed the stops after the current practice, so far as that has been possible. Otherwise, the document is presented verbatim.

* * * * *

THE LETTER.

Fulta: from on board the success Gally:
13 July 1756.

Sir,—As the Loss of Calcutta will undoubtedly be represented in various ways, my Duty, as well as my once having had the honour of your Acquaintance and continance, demands my giving some account of it, especially the Military Transactions. My having been Appointed to act as Adjutant General during the troubles, enables me to do it in a more particular manner than I otherwise could have done, had I been stationed at my post, as I issued out all Orders from the Government and saw most of them put in execution. For what relates to private correspondence [1] must refer you to a long Narrative of Mr. Drakes which he informs me he intends to transmit by this conveyance (4). You must have already rec'd the Accounts of the Surrender of Cossimbazar on the 4th of June, and the manner Mr. Watts was decoy'd and made Prisoner in the Nabobs Camp and obliged to deliver up the Fort. We have despatched Patamers (5) for that Purpose when we rec'd the news on the 7th. We may justly impute ail our Misfortunes to the Loss of that place, as it not only supplied our enemy with artillery and ammunition, but flush'd them with hopes to make as easy a conquest of our chief settlement, not near so defensible against any Number of a Country Enemy, and [there] were no Apprehensions but it could hold out, had they attacked it (6), till we were enabled by the Arrival of Supplies from your Settlement to march to its relief. It is defended by 4 Solid Bastions, each mounting 10 peices of Cannon, 6 and 9 Pounders, besides a Line in the curtain to ye

(4) In a letter written on board the sloop *Syren* off Fulta on July 14, 1756, to the Council at Fort Saint George, Drake says that "the mind cannot recover itself, in our present situation, to transmit you such a narration of the event passed by the capture of Calcutta by the Moors, as the circumstances thereof require to be penned with impartiality, which it shall be my strictest endeavours to set forth when I am eased of the anxiety my station has drawn on me. "The 'long' narrative," to which Grant refers is "dated at Fulta this 19th July, 1756" and is among the Orme MSS. It is reproduced in Hill's *Bengal in 1756-1757* (Vol. I., pp. 118—161).

(5) *Patamer*, or *Pattamar*: a foot-runner or courier: perh. from the Konkani *path-mar* (Hobson-Jobson). Cf. Downing, *History of the Indian Wars* (1737), p. 130: "A Pattimar (or what we call an express here) is near a month in going from Surat to Delhi."

(6) Cf. Drake's Narrative, dated July 19, 1756 (Hill, Vol. I., p. 129): "We had always been of opinion that the fort at Cossimbazar was in no danger from a Moors army and confirmed therein from the positiveness of Mr. Grant, who had been an officer there."

BY LIEUT. WILLIAM WHIS.

River of 24 Guns, from 2 to 4 Pounders all tolerably well mounted, and most of them on field carriages, 8 or 10 Cohorns (7) Mortars, 4 and 5 Inches, with a good Quantity of Shells and a proportionable Supply of all kinds of Amunitions. It is garrisoned by a Lieutenant (8) and 50 Military, most Europeans, and a Sergeant, Corporal and 3 Matrosses (9) of the Artillery and 20 good Lascars. 1 or 2 Houses that stood close to the Walls were commanded by so many Guns that the Enemy cou'd not keep possession of them.

When we receiv'd the news of Cossimbazars being taken by the Nabob and of his Intentions to march against us, with the Artillery and Amunition of that place and with an army, as we where [were] informed, of 50,000 Horse and foot, stated with the promise of the emence [immense] Plunder expected in Calcutta: we began to think of our Long neglected defenceless State and our Situation, and to receive our Enemy which we always despised but now thought worth our consideration. That we were in this defenceless situation can't be imputed to our Masters in England, as our Governour and Council have had reapedet injunctions w[i]th in this' twelve months past to put the place in the best posture of defence possible. But such orders [and] the Representations [which] have been made by some officers of the Necessity and manner of doing it have been constantly neglected being always Lull'd in such an unfortunate state of security in Bengal, that nothing but an Army before the walls cou'd convince us but every Rupee expended on Military Services was so much lost to the Company.

I will now proceed to Inform you as well as Possible what our Situation was to stand a seize (10). The Plan of Fort W[illia]m and a part of Calcutta, which I here inclose you and which since my comming on board I have sketch'd from memory (10 A) to give a clear Idea of the manner we were attacked, will represent to you the Situation of our small Fort in respect to the Houses that surrounded it and the Number of Guns mounted upon it. Our Military to defend it, exclusive of those at the subordinate factory, amounted only to 180 Infantry, of which number there were nor 40 Europeans, and 36 Men of the Artillery Company (11), Seargeants and

(7) *Cohorn*—a small mortar for discharging grenades, introduced by the Dutch military engineer Baron Cohorn. Cf. Strocqueler's *Military Encyclopaedia* (1853): "four inches and two-fifths is the calibre of the British column"—*New Engr. Dict.*

(8) Lieutenant John Elliott "who commanded at Cossimbazar, shott himself after the place was delivered up." British Museum version of the Narrative (Hill, Vol. I., p. 89).

(9) *Matross*—cf. A. Captain G. Smith's *Universal Military Dictionary* (1779): "Matrosses are properly apprentices to the gunner. . . they assist in loading, firing and spunging the great guns."—Hobson-Jobson.

(10) Orme describes Fort William as "a building which many an old house in this country (England) exceeds in its defences." The gates to the north-west and south-west "would resist one shot of a six pounder, but would be forced by the second" (Vol. III. p. 126.)

(10A) Not reproduced.

(11) Buckle in his memoirs of the Bengal Artillery says that in 1756 the Bengal Company of Artillery was commanded by Captain Lawrence Witherington, with headquarters at Fort William and detachments at Dacca, Balasore, Cossimbazar and Patna. All the artillerymen in

Corporals included; hardly a Gun on the Ramparts with a Carriage fit for Service. We had about 3 Years ago 50 Pieces of Cannon, 18 and 24 Pounders, with 2 Mortars, 10 and 13 inches, with a good Quantity of Shells and Balls for each; but they [had] been allowed to lay on the Grass where they were first landed ever since without Carriages or Beds. Only the 10 inch Mortars we made shift to get ready by the time we where [were] Attacked, but neither Shells filled nor Fusees prepared for Mortars or Cohorns made as well as the rest of little use. Our Grape were eat up by the worms and in short all our Amunition of all sorts such as we had in the worst order; not a Gun with a Carriage fit [to] be carried out of the fort for any use, except the two field pieces which was sent us from your Settlement, It's true on receipt of ye letters by the Delawar (12) there was orders given to repair the Line of Guns before the fort, and Carriages to be made for those 50 pieces of Cannon to be mounted upon, and likewise to repair the Carriages upon the Bastions: but these things where [were] just began when we received intelligence of ye Loss of Cossimbazar and contributed little to pre-pair us for what we expected. The Military Captains were ordered to attend Council to give their Advice in Regard to what was Necessary to be done for the Defence of ye Place, as it was all along proposed to defend the Town as well as ye Fort. An extensive line was first form'd for that intent. So little notion had the People of any Vigorous attack that it was esteemed sufficient to have a Battery of 1 or 2 Guns in each principal road to defend us from any attack of a Black Enemy: but the Considerations of our small number of Troop[s] determined us to contract our Batterys to the places marked in the Plan (13). The militia was formed in to three Companys: one of European to the Number of 60 and the other two Consisted of Arminians and Country Portuguesse to ye Number of 150, exclusive of those 50 of the Company's Servants and young Gentlemen of the Place entered as Volunteers in the Military Company's and [who] did duty in every respect as Common Centinal's and on every Occasion shewed the greatest Spirit and Resolution.

the Fort—the number of whom he places at 45—perished in the Black Hole, including their commandant. An entry in the battery-record of the 2nd Mountain Battery R.G.A. reads: "A portion of this Company perished in the Black Hole, the remnant at Plassey" (*Pioneer*, August 17, 1902).

(12) The *Delaware*, Captain Thomas Winter, had left Madras on May 11 for Bengal with the orders of the Court of Directors to prepare for a war with France. She returned to Madras before the siege began, and arrived at Culpee on July 28 with Major James Kilpatrick and 200 troops which had been hurriedly despatched on July 21, upon the receipt of the first letters regarding the outbreak of hostilities in Bengal (Hill).

(13) The Eastern battery (referred to by Grant as H) was placed "across the avenue leading to the esatward in advance of the great gateway of the Fort and having the Mayor's Court on its left": it may be located near the spot now occupied by St. Andrew's Church. The northern battery was on the river bank near the foot of what is now Clive Ghat Street "close to the saltpetre godowns on the cross road that passes behind the Fort and leads by way of the Strand to Chitpore." The Southern battery (Grant's B) was placed "some three hundred yards south of the Fort at the corner of the burying ground and commanding one of the principal roads" and "Mrs. France's bridge" across the creek: in other words, at the junction now formed by Council House Street, Hastings Street, and Government Place.

Carpenters and Workmen of all sorts were taken into Pay to make Gun Carriages etca., and everything else ordered to be got in Readiness that might be necessary for a Seige.

From the 7, when we rece[ive]d the news of Cossimbazars being lost and the Nabobs intentions to march to Calcutta, to the 16th June was all the time we had to prepare every thing, from the defenceless state we where [were] in to what was Necessary for the Reception of such a numerous Enemy; and such was the Nabob's Rapidity that in 12 days from his getting possession of Cossimbazar he was with us at Calcutta. The 4th he march'd, with a numerous Army and a large train of Artillery upwards of 100 Miles [a]cross rivers and swampy Roads, to his first attack of Calcutta. The 16th Messrs. Holwell, Macket and Mapletoft were appointed captain of the 3 Millitia company[s]. Mr. Frankland, Lieutenant Colonel, and Mr. Manningham Colonel (14), with Subalterns in proportion. The Military Volunteers and Militia were disposed of, when the Batteries were finished and carriages made for the Guns as you see in ye Plan, in which Situation we stood prepared to receive our Enemy: tho' to the last scarce any cou'd be persuaded that he wou'd attack us in any other way than by forming a Blockade, till he obtained a sum of Money and a Compliance with his demands.

On ye 16 he attacked ye Redoubt at Porrin [Perrins] with 6 Pieces of Cannon (15); but on the approach of a Reinforcement with 2 field pieces (16), they withdrew them and inclined to the Southward, where taking possession of a Top of a Wood they fired very briskly from the opposite side of a Ditch on a part of the Detachment, which was Advanced beyond the Redowbt, killed one of ye Gentlemen Volunteers (17) and 4 Europeans Soldiers. On the Enemys Approaching still more to ye Southward along ye great Ditch (18) that Surrounded ye Town, and we having Intelligence they had crossed it and taking possession of Onychaund's Garden (18A) and ye great road by it, the Reinforcement was ordered back from

(14) Charles Manningham was Third in Council and Export Warehouse-keeper: and actually next in authority to the Governor, as William Watts, Second in Council was Chief at Cossimbazar. William Frankland was sixth in Council and Import Warehouse-keeper. John Zephaniah Holwell was eighth in Council and Zemindar, William Macket ninth in Council and Buxey, and Robert Mapletoft junior chaplain.

(15) Perrin's Redoubt was to the north in Bagh Bazar and covered the approaches to the Chitpore Bridge which crossed the Chitpore creek.

(16) The reinforcement consisted of Lieut. Thomas Blags with 40 Europeans, an 18 pounder and two brass field-pieces.

(17) Ralph Thoresby, a writer of 1753, and assistant in the cutcherry. He was twenty-three years of age.

(18) The reference is to the Mahratta Ditch (constructed in 1742), which except for a détour on the north-east at Halsibagan, to enclose the garden houses of Omichand and Gobindram Mitter the "Black Zemindar," followed the modern Circular Road from Perrin's Point at the north-west extremity of Suttanuttee, where the Chitpore creek meets the river, down to a spot near the junction of "John Bazar" (Corporation Street) and Lower Circular Road, at Entally corner.

(18A) Omichand had another house in Lyons Range.

Perrins: and Ensign Piccard left in his post, as before. The Enemys cannon had played at ye same time on a Sloop (19) that lay'd [a] cross to ye Redoubt to recower [recover] the Ditch and killed 4 Europeans [on board]. We had no further molestation from [them] that Night (20), nor any further intelligence than that they occupied the E[a]sterly corner of the Black Town from Onychaunds Garden to the Bread and cheese Bunglo (21), and that the Nabob himself had taken possession of Dumdum House for his Head Quarters.

The 17th in ye Morning we planted 2 small pieces of cannon in ye Goal [jail] House to scour the different Roads which terminate at ye Place (22) and which way we expected the enemy would advance: Likewise sent 12 Military and Militia and 40 Buxerries (23), to take Possession of it under the command of Monsr. Le Beaume, a French Officer who had taken the Protection of our Flag sometime before (24), and fortified the house with Loophous [loop holes]. The enemy did not appear in sight of any of our Batteries this Day: but the Plunderers ravaged all ye Black town. We had numbers of Prisoners brought in by our Buxeries: but their Accounts of the Nabobs situation and Strength varied so much that we could not lay any stress upon it. Our own Intelligence all along from our Spies was equally so. These Prisoners in General told us that he had all the Cossimbuzars cannon and 10 or 15 pieces, which he brought from Muscadabad [Magsudabad, Moorshedabad] of a Larger Size, besides number of swivils and wall pieces mounted on camels and elephants: that his Troops Consisted from 20 to 30,000 Horse and foot. This night our Peons and Buxeries to the number of 500 deserted us as did our Lascars and Cooleys some days before: [so] that we had not a Black Fellow to draw or worke a Gur., not even to carry a Cotton Bale or Sand bag on ye Ramparts: and what work of that kind had been done was by the Military and Militia. This want of Workmen

(19) The *Fortune* ketch (Capt. Campbell) and the *Chance* sloop (Capt. Alex. Champion) had been sent up the river to assist the garrison at Perrins.

(20) Ensign Edward Piccard, who had served on the coromandel coast, crossed the ditch at midnight with his party, seized and spiked the four pieces of cannon, drove the enemy out of the wood, and returned without the loss of a man. He was one of the victims of the Black Hole (Holwell's letter of February 28, 1757, to William Davis: Hill, III, 153).

(21) The Bread and Cheese Bungalow was close to the Boytaconnah Tree at the corner of Circular Road on the spot now occupied by the southern portion of Sealdah Station.

(22) The jail-house was about two hundred yards beyond the eastern battery. Four roads met at this point: Lall Bazar, Bow Bazar Street, Chitpore Road and Cossaitollah (Bentinck Street).

(23) *Buxeries* match lock men. Mr. W. Irvine has suggested a derivation from the town of Baksar (Buxar) on the authority of the *Dastur-i-Alam* (Brit. Mus. MS. No. 1641, fol. 58b), a manuscript of 1690-1691, which gives Baksariyabs as one of the divisions of the Mogul army. Buchanan Hamilton (Vol. I. p. 471.) mentions the large recruitment to the company's army from this district. There is also a Portuguese word *buxo*, which means gun-barrel (Hobson-Jobson).

(24) Melchior Le Beaume had left Chandernagore "on a point of honour."—British Museum version of the narrative. He voted against immediate action before Plassey.

at Last, and Scarcity at ye Beginning, harras'd us Prodigeously and prevented our doing several Works that could have been necessary.

The 18th pretty early the enemy began to make their appearance in all quarters of ye Town: but did not seem as if they would advance openly against our Batteries, rather as if they were resolved to make their approaches by taking possession of the Intervening Houses. We accordingly fortified such houses as we thought commanded our Batteries with as many men as could possibly be spared. They first advanced towards the Goal [jail] by the road that leads to Perrins through the black town (25) and brought 2 pieces of cannon against it: one of them by the size of the Ball not less than an 18 Pounder. We were likewise advised by our spies and Prisoners that the Nabobs Artillery was commanded by a French Renegado, who had been an officer at Pondecherry and gave him the title of Marquis De St. Jaque [Jacques] and had under his command 25 Europeans and 85 Chittygan Fringees (26).

On their Advancing their cannon against the Goal [jail] we detached from the [Eastern] Battery H an officer 20 men and ye 2 field pieces, to reinforce Mr. Le Beaumes Fort, who maintained it from 11 to 2 in ye afternoon exposed to a very warm fire from 2 pieces of cannon and a Quantity of Musquetry. The enemy having lodg'd themselves in all ye Houses that surrounded the place [and] Monsr. Le Beaume and Ensign Curstairs (27), the Officer who was advanced to support him, being both wounded, and several of their Men killed, they had orders to retire with their 2 field Pieces. The enemy took immediate Possession of ye Place as soon as we abandoned it: as they did off [of] Mr. Dumbletons, Alsops, ye Play House and the Houses behind ye St. [it and] Lady Russels (28); from which Places and every hole the [y] could creep into, under any sort of cover, they kept a very close fire on the battery and houses, whenever they saw any of our men Lodg'd. By firing our Cannon on such Houses as they could bear upon, we obliged them often to quit them: but fresh supplies came up to relieve them. We must in this manner have destroyed Numbers, tho' all we could do, from ye cannon of the Batteries and Fort and our small Arms from the Tops and windows of the different Houses we occupied, was of no effect in Retarding their progress. Had our Shells been properly serv'd, they must have been of greater Use for this purpose than all our Artillery: but such as we fired either burst as they quitted the Mortars or before they got half way.

(25) Now the Chitpore road.

(26) "By Feringy I mean the black *mustee* [half breed] Portuguese Christians residing in the Settlement as a people distinct from the normal and proper subjects of Portugal: and as a people who sprung originally from Hindoos or Mussulman."—Holwell (Letter in Beng. Consult. June 16, 1755).

(27) Peter Carstairs escaped wounded to Fulta and died of wounds near Patna in 1763 during the troubles with Mir Kasim. Hill thinks that he was one of the Survivors of the Black Hole.

(28) The Play house was at the corner of Lall Bazar and the Rope-Walk. Towards the north and in a line with it were Dumbleton's and Lady Russell's houses. Alsop's house faced Lall Bazar and was between the Play house and the Jail.

They had now possess'd the Houses in all Quarters of the Town in Multitudes and by their Superio[ri]ty obliged most of our Men to quit the Houses they occupied. The first place they broke in upon our lines was through Mr. Nixons House and the breast work close to Mr. Puthams (29). the Sergeant of that place having retreated and left some of the Gentlemen Volunteers to free their way through the enemy from Capt. Minchins House where 2 of them were left a sacrifice to their mercy (30). They poured into the square (31) in swarms, planted their colours at the corner of ye Tank and took immediate possession of all ye Houses in that square. We had only 2 Guns from ye flank of ye N. E[as]t Bastion (32) that could bear on that part of ye town. Their footing was now too firm, by being in Possession of so many Houses within our Lines that it was impossible to think of Dispossessing them from so many Houses which se[e]med as Forteresses against our small Numbers. They brought up their cannon soon after to play upon ye passages to and from our Batteries.

This situation of ye enemy within our Lines made it necessary to order Capt. Burchanon to retire with his canon from Battery B to D (33), as his communication with the Fort might have been cut off by ye enemys advancing in his rear through the lane that leads to my House and betwixt Capt. Claytons Battery at H (34): where on my arrival I was surprized by finding the Guns of ye Battery spiked and Orders given them to retire with only the 2 field pieces into the fort. I requested their patience as I found no

(29) William Nixon was a free merchant and Manningham's "writer." His house was at the north-east corner of the Little Tank, which was on the northern side of Dalhousie Square, a little to the east of where Vansittart Row now is. John Putham was the Company's attorney. His house was behind the little Tank, to the south of Nixon's house and a palisade had been placed between them. Captain Minchin's house was to the south again of Putham's: both had the creek in rear. Putham and Nixon both escaped to Fulta.

(30) Eight of this little force of volunteers were Company's servants, and two were seafaring men. They defended themselves on the roof until their ammunition was exhausted and then forced their way to the Fort with the bayonet. The two killed were Charles Smith assistant in the storekeeper's office and Robert Wilkinson, assistant in the cutcherry: aged 23 and 20 respectively. All the others were wounded. They had accounted for 173 of the enemy (Hill).

(31) The Great Tank was surrounded by a square known as the Park or Lall Bagh.

(32) The north-east bastion faced Clive Street and Fairlie Place.

(33) Capt. John Buchanan who was in command of the southern battery, withdrew to an inner battery which was placed across the road at the corner of Koila Ghat Street. He was one of the victims of the Black Hole and his widow Mrs. Mary Buchanan, the daughter of Colonel Caroline Francis Scott the Late Commandant (who died in 1754) married Warren Hastings during the dismal days at Fulta and died at Cossimbazar in 1759.

(34) Some sentences are omitted. The British Museum version has: "The situation of the enemy exposed the battery B to have its communication cut off from the Fort, as the enemy might surround them in the rear by advancing through the lane that passes by Captain Grant's house and between Captains Buchanan's and Witherington's house[s]: it was therefore thought necessary to order Captain Buchanan to retire with his cannon to Battery D. where two embrasures had been opened in expectation of such a retreat. *I think it was about 4 afternoon when I delivered this order and I then proceeded to Captain Clayton's battery at H.*" Grant's house was nowhere near the eastern battery. It is shown on Wills' plan as one of those on the northern edge of the creek, west of Putham's and Minchin's houses and east of the houses of Buchanan and Witherington.

Necessity for so precip[it]ate a retreat till I had spoke to ye Governour. He [the Governor] told me the post [was] represented to him as no longer tenable by the enemys getting Possession of all ye Houses around them and numbers of their Men killed and wounded: and [That] if ye Guns were already spiked it would be in vain to think of keeping it Longer. I return'd towards ye Battery and found Capt. Clayton half way to ye Fort with only the field pieces. I prevailed on him to return w[i]th his Men that if Possible we might withdraw the Guns of ye Battery, especially an 18 Pounder carried their [there] about noon to play on the [houses which the] enemy possess'd, and [so] prevent the shame of leaving them to convince the enemy of ye Panic that must have seiz'd us to be Obliged to make such a Retreat. I desired one half to defend ye Battery while the other Lay'd down their Arms to draw off the cannon: but not a man would be prevailed upon to touch a Rope. I then left them to march off in the most regular manner they could.

The Abandoning this battery was of ye utmost consequence to us, as it necessarily occasioned the withdrawing the other two and confining our defences to ye walls of ye Fort. It therefore ought not to have been done till after every mature deliberation (35). The other two Batteries C and D were soon after ordered to be withdrawn (36), and all their Troops were ordered to return to ye Fort Gate by 6 in the Evening. By retiring into ye Fort we must expect that before next morning the Enemy would take Possession of all ye houses close to our walls, and from each of them greatly command our Bastions and Ramparts. This determind us, as ye only thing farther to be done to retard their Progress, to dispose of ye Troops returned from ye Batteries in ye Houses of Mr. Cruttendon, Eyre, the company and ye church: which was accordingly done before 8 at night (37).

The detachment in ye Companys house, on ye Enemys Approach and their getting possession of Capt. Renny's house (38). Thought their situation too dangerous to be maintain'd on ye Approacr of Day, and that their communication was liable to be cut off from ye fort by ye lane that leads

(35) Clayton spiked his guns so carelessly that the enemy were able to use them the next day and inflict serious damage with them.

(36) Orders were also sent to Capt. Lieut. Peter Smith to retire from the northern battery: and boats were despatched to bring Piccard and his twenty men from Perrin's redoubt.

(37) St. Anne's Church stood at the corner of Clive Street and Dalhousie Square on the site of the old council-chamber at the western end of Writers' Buildings. Cruttender's house was on the river bank separated by a lane from the north-west bastion of the Fort. Eyre's house was behind the Church. The Company's house was on the river bank, separated by the Governor's ghat from the south-east bastion of the Fort. Edward Eyre was one of the victims of the Black Hole. He was tenth in Council and storekeeper. Edward Holden Cruttenden was a free merchant and escaped to Fulta with his family. He had been second in Council from 1753 to 1755, but had been dismissed from the Company's service. On his return to England he was a director of the Company from 1765 to 1771. His daughter Sarah who was baptized in Calcutta on April 19, 1754, married William Hickey's friend "Bob" Pott at Berhampore on May 18, 1796, and died at Dacca on September 18, 1807.

(38) At the corner of Dalhousie Square and Council House Street.

to ye water side by ye new Godowns (39). [They] therefore applied to ye Gove[r]nour and obtained leave to retire into ye Fort. The withdrawing [of] this fort gave general discontent and discouragement as ye Enemys getting possession of it would not only expose the Southerly Bastions and Godowns to a very warm fire, but likewise the Gaut, w[h]ere the boats lay, to be so flanked that it coul'd be almost impossible to keep any there. And as many people at this time (by ye Vigorous attack of ye enemy and withdrawing our Batteries so very suddenly and leaving the companys House to be taken Possession of by them in ye night, attended with many other circumstances of confusion and Disorder which then could not be remedied) begun to think that a retreat on board our ships would be the only means by which we could Escape the hands of ye enemy; therefore with ye utmost concern [we] saw this our only means of safety indangered by our forsaking that Post. 15031

We had lay'd in a sufficient store of Provisions, but ye Irregularity of not appointing proper persons for ye Management of this as well as other particular duties, a fatal neglect all along, [and] the Desertion of our cooks among ye rest of ye black fellows, left us to starve in the midst of Plenty. Our out Posts had no refreshments all the proceeding [preceding] day and there was nothing but constant complaints and murmurings from all quarters for want of water and provisions, and but little prospect for a Possibility of supplying them. There was not even people to carry them to ye out posts, had they been ready dressed, as every one in ye Fort had been so harrassed and fatigued for want of rest by constant duty for 2 day[s] before, that it was impossible to rouse them even if the Enemy had been scaling ye walls. Thre[e] different times did ye Drums beat to Arms, but in Vain not a man could be got to stand to their Arms, tho' we had frequent Alarms of ye enemys preparing ladders under our walls to scale them.

We had by this time thousands of Portuguesse women within the Fort, which caused the utmost confusion and Noise by filling ye Passages in all parts and crouding the back Gate to force their way on board ye Ships. Shuch [such] was the consternation that prevailed in general at a Council of War that was held at 9 o'clock [that] the Europeans Women were ordered on board the ships, and Colonel Manningham and Lieutenant Colonel Frankland permitted to see them there safe (40). It was at ye same time resolved to clear the Fort of ye other Women, and if possible to regulate the confusion that then prevailed: but little was put into Execution towards it. The men for want of refreshment [and] rest and by getting in Liquor, [were] become very mutinous and riotous, and being mostly Militia within ye fort subject to no command. The same complaint[s] were brought from

(39) Koila Ghat Street.

(40) It was not intended that Manningham and Frankland should go on board themselves: but they seem to have done so, in the confusion, and did not return. Le Beaume who had been wounded in the fighting at the jail, was also sent on board one of the ships by Holwell, with a party of women.

ye out posts which could hardly be remedied without supplies of Provisions and men to relieve them from their hunger and fatigue bor[n]e for some days past.

In this situation of Affairs a second Council of War was called about one in ye Morning to consider of what was possible to be done, and how long under such circumstances the place was defensible against such vigorous attacks as the enemy made the proceeding [preceding] Day. You will be surprized to that all this time neither the Gove[r]nour no[r] commandant's orders could obtain a return of the Stores and Ammunition from Capn. Witherington. I often represented to ye Gove[r]nour the necessity of such a return, as likewise to have a strict obedience paid to whatever orders he issued out, but all to no purpose. He had a good opinion of the man and did not chuse to carry things to extremity. There was likewise a great Animosity subsided [subsisted] between the Gove[r]nour and commandant (41), as well as between the commandant and Captn. Witherington, which did not contribute to the Advantage of the service. The first thing done then in this Council of War was to know the state of our Ammunition, and Captn. Witherington being ask'd for what time what was then in store cou'd be sufficient at the Rate of ye Consumption of the proceeding [preceding] Day. He answered it wou'd hardly be enough for three days and that he was afraid a great part that was esteem'd good might prove damp, and that neither the weather nor our conveniences wou'd permit of its being dry'd. This unexpected shock alarm'd every body and [it] was thought very extraordinary that this state of our ammunition was not known before. We had no medium left but must either Retire on board our Ships before that time expired or surrender at direction [discretion] to the mercy of an enemy from whom we had reason to expect no Quarters. It was therefore unanimously agreed in the most expedient and regular manner and taking every circumstance under consideration, the majority were of opinion that it ought to be done that night, as next [morning] such consequences [might arise] as would either make it impracticable or liable to ye greatest risque and precipitation (42). For instance should the enemy get possession of the company's house, as we made no doubt of before morning, and Mr. Cruttendon's, they might without much difficulty force the way thro' the Barriers that leads to ye back gate from those two Houses (43) or from the windows and top of

(41) Captain George Minchin "did not properly exert himself in his command." British Museum version of the Narrative (Hill, Vol. I. p. 77).

(42) The copyist has again been careless. The British Museum version has: "The majority were of opinion that as such a retreat was already fixed on, the delay of it even until next morning could be attended with no sort of advantage but might on the contrary produce such consequences as would either make it impracticable or attended with the greatest risque and precipitation." (Hill, Vol. I. p. 85)

(43) The back gate of the Fort was at the north-west bastion opposite to Mr. Cruttenden's house. Cruttenden's ghat lay between but was outside the barrier. The Company's house was on the south-west river side of the Fort, and next to the Governor's ghat which was also outside the barrier. The exit to the river from the back gate was Crane Ghat which was the principal landing-place.

them so flank and scour ye gaut with small arms that it would be morrally impossible for a boat to lay at ye Gaut or any w[h] were else before the fort. Either of these circumstances would have effectually made a retreat impossible. This opinion was strenuously maintain'd by Mr. Holwell in particular (44): and as a Retreat had been already determined, to defer it till next night cou[ld] have been attended with no Advantages. On the contrary, had it been put in execution then, According to Mr. Holwells and several others' Opinions, the companys whole treasures and ye lives of more than 150 Europeans would have been saved: but it so happen'd that we dally'd away the time till almost Day light, and nothing soled [solid] or positive [was] determined. It was proposed to send Onychaund to treat with ye Nabob, but he absolutely refused to go (45), and our Persian Writer with the rest of [the] Blacks left us, which disabled us from writing to him. In this state of confusion, uncertainty and suspence did we remain till the Approach of Day.

The 19th in the ye morning finding that the enemy had neglected to take Possession of the Company's house, ensign Piccard, who had been ordered in the night back from Perrins, offered himself voluntarily on that service with 20 men, which was permitted. The dav produced no regularity. The same complaints of want of Provision[s], rest and refreshments was heard from all quarters and little done to remedy it. The enemy advanced a pace and their fire increased from all quarters, having in ye night lodged themselves in all the adjacent Houses. Lieutenant Bisshop (46), who commanded in Mr. Eyres house desired leave to retire about 9 o'clock, the fire from Onychaund's House and the other houses round him being so thick that it was impossible to stand it. Captn. Clayton (47) who commanded in ye Church was allowed to withdraw on ye same Account. He (48) had some heavy Pieces of cannon besides small Arms. From ye Houses to the E. and N. E. of them they play'd constantly from behind the [captured eastern] Battery H. and Play house compound which did a good deal of execution among his men. About this time Ensign Piccard was brought in Wounded from ye Companys house and the enemy had filled ye compound tho' our Men kept possession of it above stairs. The Detachment in

(44) Cf. Drake's Narrative (Hill, Vol. I. p. 154): "Mr. Holwell strenuously asserted the necessity of an immediate retreat if possible for all, and evidently foresaw the confusion break of day would produce, for should the enemy get possession of the Company's and Mr. Crutten-den's house, it was an impossibility for any boats to lay at our wharf."

(45) Drake had ordered Omichand to be imprisoned in the Fort. He surrendered on June 13 without resistance: but Captain Lieutenant Peter Smith who was in charge of the party, found the house [in Lyons Range] full of weapons.

(46) Lieutenant Richard Bishop died of his wounds before the surrender.

(47) Captain David Clayton was one of the victims of the Black Hole.

(48) There is an error in transcription here. The British Museum version has (Hill, Vol. I. p. 86): "Captain Clayton found himself very warmly attacked from in the Church from the cannon planted behind our battery and in the Play house compound and the small arms from the houses. He had several of his men killed with the cannon shott that came through the Church."

Mr. Cruttending's house was soon after withdrawn. Our Bastions were in a very improper state to be maintained against such a close fire of small arms as was now likely to command them from so many adjacent houses: all of them the strongest Pecca [pukka] work and all most proof against our Mettal on ye Bastions. And the Parrapets were not 4 foot high and only 3 in thickness, the embrasures so wide that they allowed but little shelter to our Men at ye Guns. These defects might in some measure be supply'd by Cotton Bales and Sand Bags which we had prepared for that purpose, had we not been in want of all kind of Labourers to bring them on ye Ramparts: and both Military and Militia were so harrassed that it was impossible to make them stand to their Arms, far less to carry Bales. This was our situation twixt 10 and 11 o'clock.

About this time the Gove[r]nour made his retreat on board the ships. As his conduct in this respect, as well as that of those that followed him, will most likely be a good deal canvais'd, and the affair be represented according to the prejudice and interest of different Persons, and I myself among the rest of those who thought it justifiable to follow the Gove[r]nour in such a general state of confusion when nothing further was to be done, I must beg leave to reprtsent the affair in as particular a manner as I can recollect. About above hours we recev'd an Alarm on the S. E[a]st bastion that the enemy were forcing their way through the Barrier that leads to the Companys House. I run down to learn the truth of it and to see the situation of the Guard placed there. I found the report to be false and the enemy not then advanced from the companys compound. On my return back to the Gate (49) I perceived the Gove[r]nour standing on the top of the stairs at the wharf and stept up to him to know if he had any commands. He was then beckoning to his servant that stood in a ponsy (50) above to Gaut. At the same time numbers of Budgerows and Boats had been setting of [f] below and above full of Europeans and only one Budgerow left, where Captn. Minchin and Mr. Macket (51) were ready to step into, at the Gaut besides the Ponsey w[h]ere the Gouve[r]nours Servt. [servant] was. He observed to me that as Colonel Manningham [and] Lt. Colonel Frankland were on board, not having return'd in the night, [and] as he expected that the *Dodly* as well as the other ships and sloops which were before the Fort were fallen down below ye Town, and finding that every body were preparing for their own Safety by their crouding off in ye boats as he saw them, he thought it was high time to think of himself. So without given me time to make an Answer, he run down stairs and up to the side of the river to get into the Ponsey.

(49) The Back Gate of the Fort which gave access to Crane Ghat.

(50) Ponsy or Paunchway—Bengali *pansi*, a boat with a tilted roof of bamboo matting over the stern.

(51) William Macket (the Buxey) was the brother-in-law of Captain Henry Speke of H.M.S. *Kent*. He had at least the excuse that his wife who was on board one of the ships was ill. Moreover, Holwell acknowledges that he and Mapletoft had been working without intermission in "cutting open the bales of cotton and fitting it in bags to carry upon the parapets."

Every body, who saw him go on board in this Manner, crouded to the Gaut and stairs to follow. I just had time to represent to him ye Irregularity of such a retreat and earnestly beg'd him and entreated he would first communicate his Intentions to Mr. Holwell and ye rest of the Garrison: but his answer was he saw things in such a situation as would make it impossible to retreat any other way [and] that he supposed every person that could find Boats, when they saw him go off would follow. I then look'd behind me towards the Gaut Stairs and seeing it crouded with multitudes and Captn. Minchin and Mr. Macket setting off in the Budgerow, I concluded the Gouve[r]nours retreat caused a general one and that those who could get hold of boats to escape falling into the hands of a cruel enemy were the happiest. Therefore with Mr. O. Harea (52) I got into the same Ponsey w[h]ere the Gouve[r]nour was and set off, the last boat that left the Gaut. The rest that crouded to the water side, finding it impossible then to make their escape for want of boats, returned to the factory and the Gates were immediately shut of [after] them.

We proceeded on board the *Dodley* where were Messrs. Manningham and Frankland (53), with more than half the Militia Officers, several of the Volunteers and Gentlemen of the Militia, with most of the European Women. The rest of the Ships and Sloops were likewise crouded with men and Women who had come away from the fort since the Morning as they could meet with opportunitys. In this manner the Gove[r]nour made his retreat. How far he is culpable I will leave you to judge and shall only assure you the Account of it is faithfull as far as my judgement can enable me to give it.

I likewise, on my comming on board, proposed to ye Gove[r]nour to move up before ye Town with the whole fleet, in order to assist the retreat of those who were necessitated to remain behind for want of conveyance: but ye Captn. of ye *Dodley* represented such a motion as attended with great Danger and told him if ye ships moved up again before the Fort, there was but little chance of getting them back. The *Prince George* that remained there that night never got back again but was destroyed by ye Enemy (54). The Gouve[r]nour, on what ye Captn. Said, thought no further of moving for ye Assistance of those left behind. He ordered a Sloop in the Night to move up to see what could be done: but she was not able to proceed as far up as ye Fort, the enemy being in possession of all the Water side. We fell

Of Minchin, Paul Richard Pearkes (Fifth in Council and Accomptant) declared that his "going occasioned not the least concern to any one." Pearkes remained behind and eventually escaped to Fulta: See note (54).

(52) Charles O'ttara was a factor of six years' service and also one of the engineers. The other, Lieut. Colin Simpson, died in the Black Hole.

(53) Manningham and Frankland were part owners of the *Dodalay*.

(54) The *Prince George* in dropping down from Perrins Redoubt, ran aground and was seized and burnt. The Captain Thomas Haque with Pearkes and Lewis (who had been sent up from the Fort) escaped to the Dutch who surrendered them: but they were set free and made their way to Fulta.

down the River just in sight of the Town and could observe numbers of Houses on fire all night.

The following accounts we have from such as escaped after ye Place was taken. They informed us that as soon as the Gove[r]nour retreated, all hopes of a retreat being cut off. Mr. Holwell was unanimously declared Gove[r]nour and the Gates shut: every person in such a desperate situation being resolved to die on the ramparts, rather than surrender to ye Barbarity they expected from the Enemy. The place held out till ye 20th about 3 in ye Afternoon. The enemy soon got possession of Mr. Cruttendons house, Mr. Eyres, the companys and the church: after which especially when they got to the top of ye Church, scarce a man was able to stand [in] the N. E. and S. E[a]st Bastions (55). Before the place was taken, upwards of 50 Europeans were killed on those Bastions, and they were obliged to abandon that side of the Fort intirely.

The Enemy got Possession in the following manner. About 2 in ye Afternoon of the 20th they made a signal for a truce and some of their Leaders spoke with Mr. Holwell from some of the Bastions and told him that the Nabob had given orders to desist from firing in order to accom-[m]odate. This proposal was readily agreed to by Our People, and accordingly ceas'd firing likewise, and our men were ordered to lay down their Arms and refresh themselves. In the mean time the Enemy made use of this pretended truce (56) and I suppose they intended it for no other purpose, to croud in swarms under the walls of ye E[a]stern curtain and Bastions and under cover of there fire from the Church etca., we having before been obliged to abandon that side, with Ladders and Bamboas scall'd the walls in an instant and put to the sword such as offered to resist (57). Every Red coat was destroy'd without mercy.

To conclude the scene such as were taken Prisoners to the Number of about 200 Europeans Portuguesse and Armenians were at night shut up in ye Black hole, a place of 16 foot square: where by the heat of ye Place and for want of water which was absolutely denied them, not above 10 of them survived till morning (58). And amongst the dead there were nearly

(55) Capt. Thomas Fenwick who was in England at the time of the siege wrote to Orme that the roof of the Church not only commanded the whole of the Fort but all the adjacent houses (Orme MSS. India, Vol. VI. pp. 1569-1789: quoted by Hill).

(56) Holwell says that the little gate on the west leading from the Fort to the river was burst open during the parley by a Dutch Sergeant named Hedleburgh "now in the service of the Nabob" (Letter of August 3, 1756, to the Council at Fort Saint George: Hill. I. p. 185).

(57) "The Moors scaled the walls on all quarters in a manner almost incredible to Europeans. . . Lieutenant Blagg defended the bastion he was upon till he and his men were cutt to pieces." Letter from William Lindsay Robert Orme, dated *Syren* sloop off Fulta—July 1756 (Orme MSS. India IV. p. 813: Hill I. 168). "Mr. Lindsay, a lame gentleman (having had the misfortune to lose his leg) was permitted on request to quit the factory" [on June 18]. Drake's Narrative of July 19, 1756 (Hill. I. 154). He died on Fulta. On December 2, 1755, he was nominated to serve the office of Sheriff for the ensuing year.

(58) Holwell in his letter to William Davis "from on board the *Spren* Sloop, February 28, 1757" says that out of 146 prisoners 123 were smothered in the Black Hole prison: and gives a

100 Europeans Companys Serv[an]ts, Officers, etca. Mr. Holwell [was] amongst the Number that survived and is now Prisoner with the Nabob who stay'd but a few days at Calcutta and is return'd to Muscadabad, leaving some thousands of his Troops to keep Possession of our Fort and Town. The Factory and the Church they have destroy'd.

The French and Dutch have in a manner accommodated matters with him [the Nabob] the first by paying 4 and ye other 5 Lacks of Rupees: Tho' each of their Settlements was now crowded with Moors and no Business can be carried on without particular Perwannas for that purpose, so it is supposed he has not done with them yet.

Messrs. Watts and Collet (59) are Prisoners at large now at the French Factory [at Cossimbazar] who have orders to send them to ye court by their first ships. The rest of the Gentlemen belonging to the Cossimbazar Factory, by the last Account we had, were Prisoners at Muschabad and in irons. The Decca Factory (60) are safe with ye French at that place. Both ye Luckepoor and Ballasore factorys (61) got off and are now with us. We know to have been killed during ye siege and dead in ye black hole 30 Companys servants and 15 officers. Minchin, Keen, Muir and myself, being all that now remains of Calcutta Settlement are now hear on board 6 ships and some sloops (62).

Messrs. Drake, Manningham, Frankland and Macket with Amyal [Amyat] and Radham [Boddam] whome they lately join'd, from [form] a Council and Order that they think necessary for ye Companys Advantage. The Nabob seems satisfied with what he has already done and I fancy is very well pleased to see us leave his Dominions. Mr. Drake seems inclinable to maintain some footing in the country, especially till Advices from the Coast. After the Receipt of this news, in consequence of our letters to you on the taking of Cossimbazar and ye Nabobs intentions to march on Calcutta, we are in expectations, in case [the] French War don't prevent it, if a strong reinforcement to arrive in ye river about ye 18th of August (63); but I'm afraid such numbers as you will think necessary to send to reinforce the Garrison of Fort William, not expecting it to be taken, will be too few to

list of 23 survivors. Europeans and 12 military and militia Blacks and whites some of whom recovered when the door was opened.

(59) William Watts was second in Council, and Chief of Cossimbazar: Matthew Collet, seventh in Council and second at Cossimbazar. Warren Hastings, then a factor of six years' service and twenty five years of age, was fifth at Cossimbazar. He escaped to the French factory.

(60) Richard Becher, Fourth in Council, was Chief of Dacca: William Sumner Second, and Luke Srafton Thir'd.

(61) Peter Amyatt, subsequently killed on the river in 1763 during the troubles with Mir Kasim, was Chief at Jugdea or Luckipore. Thomas Boddam was Resident at Bulramgurry (Balasore).

(62) Lieut. William Keen had been in command of the Military at Balasore. Ensign Mure had been attached to the Jugdea Factory.

(63) Major James Kilpatrick arrived at Culpee on July 28 with 200 troops from Madras: See note (12) and Hill, I, 192.

establish a footing in ye Country now it is lost. For which reason I wish your [our] Goue[r]nour and Council had thought proper to dispatch one of their sloops to advise you sooner: as it might arrive before the embarkation of such troops and enable you to send such a force as would not only re-establish Calcutta but march in our turn to the Nabobs Capital at Muschadabad: which I think might be done, notwithstanding the loss of Calcutta, with 1000 or 1500 Regular Troops and proper field Artillery. The conveniency of ye river that runs through the heart of ye Country, and a most healthy climate from October to March or April, would afford us every opportunity we could desire. The resolution our enemy have shown behind ye walls and Houses would all Vanish in an instant in ye open field and I am sure they are worce troops than any you have. I need not tell you what hand they would make against Artillery well serv'd. It was first intended to send Mr. Mapleto[f]t and myself with these Advices, but they have altered their minds (64).

I could wish that if anything was to be done for the Resettlement of a place of such consequence to ye Trade of India that I had an opportunity personally to communicate my opinion: as my residence so long at Cossimbazar in ye Neighbourhoqd of ye Court gave me some opportunity to know ye State of ye Country and nature of ye People better than I could have done else w[h]ere. In case of no supplies to enable us to re-settle, I suppose we shall be be able to sail out of ye river about ye 20 of August for your Settlement. What shall become of us Afterwards God knows, most having made their escape. Men and Women, only with their cloths on their back, except such as had resques at Sea. I hope you will Pardon what may appear tedious in this Narrative and believe me with great Respect.

Sir, yours, etca.,

ALEXR. GRANT.

[John Debonnaire, February 22, 1774.]

(64) Manningham and Lebeaume were despatched to Madras on July 13, but Lebeaume arrived alone at Fort Saint George on September 13 with a letter from Manningham to say that he had got no further than Vizagapatam owing to the rains and the impossibility of obtaining palankeen bearers. Manningham, however, arrived on September 29.

An Adventurer in Bengal in 1712.

IN the Orme collection of manuscripts at the India Office (Vol. IX, pp. 2159-2174) there may be seen a paper entitled "The Adventures of a person unknown who came to Calcutta in the Government of Mr. Russell and went to the Moors then fighting at Hughly." Certain extracts are quoted in Part I of the second volume of the late Dr. C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*: but it was not until the year 1923 that the whole document was published for the first time in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXVI, pp. 113-132) under the title of "An Adventurer in Bengal in 1712." The earlier portion of the narrative contains many interesting details regarding the navigation of the river Hooghly; and this is followed by an account of Calcutta and "the Danes Factory at Gundullparra," a lively history of "Disturbances at Hughly among the Moors," and a description of "Chinchura," Hughly, "Golgutt, the English Factory at Hughly" and "the Bandell."

The document breaks off abruptly, and no clue is given as to the identity of the writer. But Miss L. M. Anstey, to whom the transcription was due, has discovered the key, in the course of further investigations at the India Office.

A list of contents is prefixed to the vellum bound volume in which the paper is to be found, and mention is made therein of the completion of an "Account of the Island of Bombay" also by "a person unknown" of which the earlier part was contained in the preceding volume. For some unexplained reason both these parts of the "Account of Bombay," together with other papers, have been cut out and transferred to a separate volume in a paper cover which has hitherto escaped notice. A comparison of the "Account" of Bombay and the "Adventures" in Bengal reveal the fact that they are the work of the same individual and that the latter is a continuation of the former.

In his catalogue of the Orme MSS. which was published in 1916, the late Mr. S. C. Hill offers the suggestion that the "Account of the Island of Bombay" is a copy of an original manuscript entitled "History of Bombay by J. Burnell, Esq.," which was at one time in Orme's possession (Vol. 282 of the collection) and is now missing. The correctness of this surmise can be established from the company's records, which have been examined by Miss Anstey with the following result.

John Burnell first appears as an ensign in the Company's Service at Bombay, from which place he wrote at least a part of the "Account" of the island in letters to his father, of which the first is dated May 12, 1710. A year later, on April 6, 1711, he resigned his commission and "the charge of Dungaree Fort," and was permitted to return to Europe in the *Tankerville* (Bombay Public Proceedings, Vol. IV.)

The ship sailed in May, 1711, but owing to bad weather did not continue her voyage and eventually made her way to Madras. Here Burnell offered his services and was "entertained" as an ensign on the military establishment at Fort Saint George, as being "a person well skill'd in drawing and has some knowledge in fortification" (Madras Public proceedings, Vol. LXXXV). He did not, however, long retain the good opinion formed of him, for at a consultation held on May 27, 1712 (*ibid*) he was discharged from the service, "having been guilty of several disorders such as intemperate drinking, abusing the Freemen [free merchants] and company's servants, and disobedience to his Superiour Officers."

Burnell now turned his attention to Bengal, and his experiences from November 1712 until the following January are related in the narrative which we published in 1923. It will be remembered that he met at Calcutta "my good friend Captain Herculles Courtney, a gentleman that had been very serviceable to the Company in the Wars at Fort St. David but had run through the same misfortune as myself, being cashier'd a little before me at Madderass."

We next hear of him in February 1714, when he reappears at Fort William as a map-maker. At a Consultation held on the first of the month it was resolved that:

Mr. John Burnell having with great care and ingenuity perfected a Map of the World in two Rounds 6 foot 2 inches diameter Curiously Embellished with Gold and Silver the Title and names of Places being all wrote in Persian to make it a proper and acceptable present for the great Mogull, which having cost many months time, a Reward for his Pains being consider'd of, we unanimously agree that he well deserves. . .

The reward took the form of two hundred rupees and a free passage to England in the *King William* (Bengal Public Proceedings, Vol. I). The ship, commanded by Capt. Nehemiah Winter, was despatched on February 21, 1714, her passengers having come on board on the 21st: but the name of Burnell does not appear in the list of them, and no further mention of him has been discovered.

Colonel Milles, soldier of fortune and the Ostend East India Company

A BRIEF account of a remarkable and little known Anglo-Indian soldier of fortune, who seems to have dreamed of accomplishing in Bengal what Clive achieved at Plassey, may be seen in the Dictionary of National Biography under the heading "James Mill, fl. 1744, Indian Colonel." This adventurer, whose name is spelled "Milles" in the contemporary sources from which we shall presently draw, "devised a project for the conquest of India and appears to have submitted it in 1744 to Francis Duke of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Theresa of Austria, who was at the time commanding the imperial forces against the Turks."

The scheme, which is given in one of the appendices to William Bolts' "considerations on India Affairs," (Vol. I. 1772, Vol. II, 1775) sets forth that "the Mogul Empire was overflowing with gold and silver and had always been weak and defenceless."

It was a miracle that no European nation with a maritime power had attempted the conquest of Bengal. By a single stroke infinite wealth might be acquired which would counterbalance the mines of Brazil and Peru. The country might be conquered or laid under contribution as easily as the Spaniards conquered the naked Indians of America. A rebel named Aliverdi Khan had torn away the three provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa from the Mogul Emperor and had acquired treasure to the amount of thirty million sterling. The provinces were open to the sea, and three ships with 1,500 to 2,000 regular troops would suffice for the expedition. The British Government would co-operate for the sake of the plunder and the extension of their trade. The East India Company had better be left alone. No Company could keep a secret and the East India Company was so distracted as to be incapable of any firm resolution (1).

Mr. N. L. Hallward in his book on William Bolts (Cambridge University Press, 1920) mentions neither Milles nor his scheme for the conquest of Bengal. But, hidden away in the columns of the *Calcutta Gazette* for Thursday June 29, 1786, we shall find a further record of the Colonel's activities. Two years before that date there had been published in London the journal of Bubb Dodington, Lord Melcombe, and in it a certain Nestor discovered the following entry:

(1) The writer in the dictionary of National Biography, concludes his notice by alluding to the appointment in 1743 of "James Mill, Esq.", as "Captain and second in command of the East India Company's military in Bengal" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1743, p. 275): and it is apparently on this ground that the name "James Mill" is given to the subject of the biography. But the identification is unwarranted. There is no evidence to show that Milles was ever in the service of the Company. Bolts merely says of him that he had served twenty years in India.

1751. June 27th.—This morning I wrote to the Duke of New-Castle inclosing Colonel Milles' memorial who is in the Emperor's service as Duke of Tuscany. The memorial sets forth that the Ostend Company bought the settlements Banquibazar and Covelon of the Mogul: a rebel seized the province of Bengal in 1744 and took Banquibazar from the Emperor's governor. He desires the King to assist him either in retaking the province with the consent of and for the Mogul or in making war upon the usurper who took and still retains his forts: he submits to the king entirely the share and disposition of the gains and the plan of the expedition.

This plan was attempted about six years ago and cost the Emperor £15,000, and we prevented its execution at the instigation of the East India Company. Mr. Milles assures me that the province of Bengal is the richest in the known world: that he knows where to lay his hands on fifty millions sterling: that he can make himself master of it with 1,500 men (and he designs to carry no more) which the Emperor will furnish; all he demands of us is shipping and stores, etc., enough to carry them, to be added to the three ships which the Emperor now has and which he bought for this expedition before at the time when we disappointed it.

"This reminds me," says Nestor, "of Colonel Milles who came out a subaltern in the Ostend Company's service but finding on his arrival that company ruined became a soldier of fortune. He enlisted a small body of Europeans which he trained to some guns: and the whole country of Bengal being thrown into confusion by the Marattas, engaged to escort the salt boats to Assam."

This business he carried on for some years and, being fortunately there when a rebellion broke out, the King sent to him for assistance. He marched and the rebellion was quelled. The King always expressed a great regard for him, gave him advantages to trade, but did not wish him to establish himself in the country.

When the Ostend Company was expelled in 1744 [sic] he was obliged to leave it also. Being a good soldier he had learnt to despise the military of this country [Bengal] and thought it might be conquered by a small body of Europeans. On his return to Europe he formed plans and endeavoured to get them put into execution. He applied to the Court of London but the event being put upon the consent and concurrence of the East India Company, they damped it: though it is not impossible the plan on which Col. Caroline Scott (2) who had met Milles at the Princess of Wales's Court, was sent, was a part of it.

(2) Colonel Caroline Francis Scott died at Calcutta in 1755. His daughter married Captain John Buchanan who was one of the victims of the Black Hole: and during the dismal days at Fulta took a young writer of the name of Warren Hastings as her second husband. She died at Cossimbazar on July 11, 1759, and is buried in the old Residency burying-ground with her infant daughter.

The last I heard of Milles was from Mr. Barton (3) who returned to India overland in 1758 and was well received by him at Florence where he was a general officer in the service of the Grand Duke.

The rise and fall of the Ostend East India Company are described in the first volume of Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*, which was published in 1772 (pp. 317-320). As soon as the Spanish Netherlands were yielded to the Emperor by the treaty of Rastatt the merchants of Ostend, Antwerp and other towns in Flanders sought the patronage and protection of their new master for the establishment of their commerce in the East Indies. Their first attempts were, however made without authority and letters patent, and promptly excited the hostility of the Dutch who on December 19, 1718 seized an Ostend ship off the coast of Africa in spite of the Imperial passport with which it was provided. The Emperor demanded satisfaction but the Dutch replied by the capture of another ship. The Ostend merchants thereupon fitted out privateers and retaliated by taking a Dutch ship. This was followed by the despatch in 1720 of five and in 1721 of six vessels, of which three were bound for China, one for Mocha, one for Surat and the Malabar coast, and one for Bengal. The next event was the seizure by English pirates "in the seas of Madagascar" of a homeward bound Ostender: but four others came safely home in 1722 and the Emperor granted his letters patent to the company which was now authorized to trade for the next thirty years in the East and West Indies and "all the coasts of Africa" and also in "all the ports, harbours, places and rivers where other nations had any freedom of trade." The principal factory was at Covelong, on the Coromandel coast, twenty miles south of Madras: and from 1727 to 1731 a foothold was obtained in Bengal at Bankybazar, on the eastern bank of the Hooghly, above Calcutta and opposite Bhadreswar. To the hostility of the Dutch was now joined that of England, France, and Spain: and as the result of the pressure which was exercised, the Emperor agreed by the treaty of Paris on May 20, 1727, to suspend the charter for seven years: "since which time," says Grose, "the Ostend Company has never been revived."

A further attempt was however made in 1776 by William Bolts, who persuaded the Empress Queen Maria Theresa to send him out to Surat in command of a discarded Indiaman, the *Earl of Lincoln*, which he rechristened the *Joseph and Theresa*. In a letter from Antwerp received in November 1781, by Lawrence Sullivan, the Chairman of the East India Company, it was reported that Bolts had been granted the exclusive privilege for ten years, that a new association had been formed, and that three ships were being despatched that season, to China, and three to India. Three factories had been settled on the Malabar coast, one on the Nicobar Islands, and one at Delagoa Bay, which was destroyed in 1782 by the Portuguese. In 1784

(3) James Barton, master attendant, died in Calcutta on July 7, 1759. He was the father of James and William Barton who were cousins of Richard Barwell, and were both of them in the Company's service in Bengal.

five ships of the Imperial Trieste Company arrived at Ostend from China: but the seizure at Cadiz of the *Imperial Eagle* by creditors caused a panic among the shareholders, and the Company failed in that year for ten million florins (4).

(4) Macpherson's *Commerce with India*: quoted in Hallward's *William Bolts* (pp. 192-194).

The Old Bengal Army

List of Officers of the Bengal Army: 1758-1834: Part one; A.-C. by Major V. C. P. Hodson, Indian Army, Retired List. (Constable and Company Limited, one Guinea net.)

MAJOR HODSON reminds us in his preface that books are of too sorts—those which can be read and those which cannot. He modestly places his volume in the second category and describes it as nothing more than a work of reference. It certainly is that: and if the succeeding volumes are equal to the first, it will easily take rank as the standard book on the subject. But we disagree entirely with Major Hodson when he says that his pages contain little of human interest. There are numerous human documents to be found, if only we know now and where to look for them.

How many of the Calcutta Scotsmen, for instance, who join so lustily in "Auld Lang Syne" at the St. Andrew's Day Dinner, are aware that two sons of Robert Burns exciseman and poet and Jean Armour served in the Company's arm, one in Madras and the other in Bengal? Both received their cadetships through the good offices of the Marchioness of Hastings. The Bengal brother Lieut.-Colonel James Glencairn Burns (1794-1865) was the third son. He was posted in October 1813 to the 1st battalion of the 6th B.N.I. as ensign, and saw active service in the Nepal war of 1814 and the third Mahratta war. In 1834 he was brigade Major of the 4th Infantry brigade in Rajputana and retired in 1839. On his return to England he was appointed a sub-inspector of factories, and died at Cheltenham on November 18, 1865, from the effects of an accident. Lieut.-Colonel William Glencairn Burns (1791-1872) who died also at Cheltenham, was his elder by three years, and survived him by seven years. He became an ensign in the Madras Infantry in 1811 and retired as a Lieutenant Colonel in 1843. David Lester Richardson wrote a sonnet in August 1833, on hearing James Burns sing his father's songs in Calcutta: and William could remember his father taking him to school.

Coleridge had likewise two brothers in the Company's service in Bengal: and both died in the Madras Presidency. Lieutenant Francis Syndercombe Coleridge came out in 1783 and died in 1792 at the age of twenty-one while serving in the third Mysore war. Captain John Coleridge, who was a cadet of 1770, commanded a sepoy battalion in the first Mahratta war and brought it back to Bengal in 1784: he died at Tellicherry on the Malabar Coast in December 1787, at the age of thirty-one.

Another literary celebrity, Fanny Burney, whose "Evelina" captivated Dr. Samuel Johnson, had five nephews in the Bengal Army. Their father was her half-brother, Richard Thomas Burney who was headmaster of the

Orphan School at Kidderpore and died at Rangoon in 1808 in his fortieth year. The most distinguished of the sons was Lieut.-Colonel Henry Burney (1792-1845), the second, an infantry cadet of 1807 who was Resident at the Court of Ava and wrote an account of the mission sent to the King of Siam by Lord Amherst in 1825. He died at sea on board the *Maidstone* on March 9, 1845, while on his passage to Europe. In the next generation the Burneys were represented in India by his son, Henry Bannerman Burney, who was chaplain at Hazaribagh in 1862, and was a pretendary of wells at the time of his death in 1886.

Legal names abound Sir Robert Chambers has a nephew Robert Ewbank Chambers in the list, the son of his brother Richard who was Mayor of New Castle. He was killed in the Jagdalak Pass during the retreat from Kabul in 1842 when in command of the 5th Light Cavalry. Another Chief Justice, Sir Edward Hyde East, lost his grandson, ensign Edward Nugent Croft, in the wreck of the brig *Motichand Amichand* off the sandheads on September 26, 1837. He had only arrived in India three years before and was taking six months' sick leave to Singapore. His father James William Croft, was scaler of the Supreme Court and clerk to the Chief Justice whose only daughter he had married. A tragedy of a different kind is associated with the name of Sir William Ownall Russell, who was sworn in as Chief Justice on July 4, 1832. He died off Penang where he had gone for the sake of his health on January 22, 1833: his eldest daughter married Lieut. Alfred Arabin, Brigade-Major at Barrackpore, in Calcutta on May 5, and was left a widow on September 1.

We have already noted in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 79-80) how firmly the Macnaghtens established themselves for over a century, in the Company's service. Sir Francis Macnaghten the *propositus*, who married Letitia Dunkin, a daughter of Hickey's friend and patron, Sir William Dunkin, had three nephews as well in the Bengal Army. They were the sons of Valentine Conolly who had been a surgeon on the Madras establishment and married Matilda Dunkin, another daughter of the judge's daughters. Arthur Conolly (1807-1842), the third son and the best known was murdered at Bokhara: John Balpur Conolly (1815-1842), the youngest, commanded his cousin Sir William Macnaghten's escort at Kabul and died in the same year of fever while a hostage in the Bala Hissar: and Edward Barry Conolly (1809-1840) the fourth son, was killed in action at Fort Tutamdara, north of Kabul, two years earlier. The second son, Henry Valentine Conolly (1860-1855) of the Madras Civil Service and collector of Malabar was murdered by Moplahs while sitting with his wife on the verandah of his bungalow at Calicut. Another brother seems to have been James William Conolly of the Bengal Civil Service (writes 1822 and commissioner of Rohilkhand) who died at the Cape of Good Hope on July 7, 1845.

The names are also recorded of a son and two nephews of Sir William Burroughs whom Hickey disliked so intensely, and whom Sir Francis Macnaghten tried to disbar when they were practising together as advocates in

Calcutta. The nephews are the earliest in point of time: Colonel William Burroughs (1787-1853) a cadet of 1805, became Colonel of the 59th B.N.I. and died at Cheltenham, and Major Lewis Burroughs (1796-1871) an artillery cadet of 1819, who became a commissary of ordnance and died at Clifton, thirty-four years after his retirement in 1837. The son, General William Burroughs (1806-1889), a cadet of 1824, commanded the Bhagalpur Hill Rangers in 1855. He seems to have been a natural son, born in London just before Burroughs went out to succeed Sir Henry Russell on the Bench, after squandering the lakhs which he had accumulated as Advocate-General. His only legitimate son died in 1814 of wounds received before Bayonne and the baronetcy which was conferred upon him in 1829, became extinct at his death in that year.

Excessive importance does not appear to have attached to birth in wedlock in those easy days. When John Bristow of the Civil Service married the beautiful Emma Wrangham at Chinsurah on May 27, 1782, he was already the father of four children: John baptized in Calcutta on May 20, 1774, Charlotte born at Delhi in March 1776, Mary, baptized in Calcutta in September 1777, and William, born at Calcutta in July 1778. The girls were sent home for their education, and Hickey relates that when they were coming out in the *Winterton* in 1792 with several other young ladies, they were wrecked on the island of Madagascar and remained there until a pilot schooner could be sent from Calcutta to rescue them. Both found husbands in the Bengal Army: Charlotte on July 31, 1795 married Robert Hyde Colebrooke, Surveyor General from before 1800 until his death at Bhagalpore on September 21, 1808, and author of the well known Mysore sketches. She died at Bath on July 2, 1833. Her sister Mary who died on June 9, 1849, married on September 3, 1796, Captain James Tillyer Blunt of the Bengal Engineers, who retired in 1810 and died in Devon in October 20, 1834. William Bristow, their brother, who is described by Major Hodson as "of the salt agency, Calcutta," obtained Bengal cadetships for two of his sons who were both born in Calcutta: Capt. D'Oyly, Richard Bristow (1815-1863) who was a godson of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, the 8th baronet, and Captain Edward Wynne Bristow (1817-1863).

Certain families and names are heavily represented. There are no less than fifty-nine Campbells, twelve Armstrongs, and eleven Bechers, of whom one General Septimus Harding Becher married the daughter of Augustus Prinsep of the Bengal Civil Service and died at Eastbourne on November 23, 1908, at the age of ninety-one. He had arrived in India in 1834 and was promoted to full General in 1889. The Abbotts occupy four pages, and among them is Sir James Abott (1807-1896) who has given his name to Abbottabad. Of the eight Boileaus, three arrived in India between 1798 and 1805, and all are either sons or relatives of Thomas Boileau, the Calcutta solicitor. There are eleven Baillies of whom three, a colonel and his two young nephews, were lost in the *Skelton Castle* on their voyage out in December 1806 with eighteen other cadets: eight Crawfords, twelve Bruces, eleven Blairs, six Beatsons, and eleven Brooks of whom Rajah James Brooke of Sarawak is one.

Lord Brougham had a young nephew in the Cavalry who died at Karnal in 1839 at the age of twenty six. The wife of Warren Hastings contributes a scapegrace nephew, Charles Chapuset, who became heavily involved in debt and was dismissed in 1817. And Richard Barwell's son, Augustus Leicester Barwell (born in England in 1802 after he had married for the second time) was posted in 1821 as an ensign to the 18th B.N.I. but went on furlough two years later, was "struck off in England" in the following year, and died at his seat near Milford in 1844. The other Barwell in the list, Lieutenant Henry Montague Barwell was the son of Edward Richard Barwell of the Bengal Civil Service and was born at Chittagong in 1811. He came out in 1828, was aid-de-camp and private secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra in 1835, and died at Shahjehanpore on August 8, 1837. More surprising is the discovery of a grandson of James Boswell, Dr. Johnson's butt and biographer. This was Major Mruce Boswell son of James Boswell's daughter Elizabeth who was invalided in 1844 and retired in 1849 after twenty-eight years' service. He died in Edinburgh in 1855. He must be distinguished from Captain Bruce Boswell, who commanded the *Chesterfield* Indiaman from 1781 to 1786, and was later on Marine Paymaster and Naval Storekeeper at Calcutta.

There must be quite a romance—if we only knew it—attaching to the six daughters of Johan Fredrik Meiselbach, "formerly Colonel in the Service of Himmat Bahadur, afterwards pensioned and employed by the British Government in India." They were all married in the thirties to officers in the Bengal Army: the youngest in 1831 to Lieutenant George Byron, a great-grandson of the fourth Lord Byron, who was only 29 when he died of fever at Sitapur in 1834. The history of Himmat Bahadur, as Grant Duff justly says, merits some digression. He was the leader of Mahdaji Sindia's Gosains or fighting friars, and after the battle of Assaye in 1803, tendered his services to the British Government to assist them in ousting his old ally Ali Bahadur the Nawab of Banda from Bundelcund. As a reward he received a jagir in the Doab between Allahabad and Kalpi.

Major Hodson's industry in research is reflected upon almost every page. He reveals the parentage of the Honble David Anstruther "Lieutenant of the Yellow" who was married at Cossimbazar in February 1780 to Mary Donaldson of that place, whom James Augustus Hickey describes as "a young Lady at beauty and infinite accomplishments" and the less gallant William Hickey as "the daughter of a needy tradesman in a county village of Scotland." He is Sophia Goldborne's "younger brother of an ennobled family" who "paid £80,000, acquired in this world of wealth" for the post of commandant of the Nawab Nazim's bodyguard at Moorshedabad. Major Hodson is mistaken in saying that he commanded the Nawab Wazir of Oudh's bodyguard: and, unless our own researches have misled us, he is not quite correct in his genealogy. Following up the clue to the "ennobled family" which he gives us, we have discovered in an old Scots Peerage that David Anstruther was the son of Alexander Anstruther (d. 1791) a merchant at Boulogne who married the daughter of Captain Price of the

Company's service and who claimed to be Lord Nework through his grandmother Jean Leslie "styled Baroness Nework." The last member of the family to assume the title was David's elder brother John who died unmarried in 1818. David Anstruther arrived in India in October 1778 as a cavalry cadet and resigned in May 1794, when he went to live at Huntsmore Park in Buckinghamshire. The *Calcutta Gazette* of December 13, 1787, records his departure on furlough on half pay, with his family, on board the *Henry Dundas* (Capt. Angus M' Nab.). Just before he sailed, his son Robert Lindsay Anstruther was baptized at St. John's Church, Calcutta (the year is 1787 and not 1789, as given by Major Hodson). He followed his father in the Bengal Army, became Colonel of the 6th Light Cavalry, and, retiring in 1849, died at Southampton on December 5, 1868. His uncle, Major George Mence, who was the son of the Rector of Kentish Town and canon of St. Pauls and married Elizabeth Donaldson at "Moradbaug near Burrampore" on June 17, 1786, came out the year before on the *Francis* Indiaman with Ozias Humphry who sketched him "at sea 21 June 1785," as well as the Captain, James Urmston.

Several of the names in the list are inscribed on the Rohilla monument in the old churchyard of St. John's. Both Colonel George Burrington and Major Thomas Bolton were killed in the battle of Bitawrah, near Bareilly, on October 26, 1794. Burrington's grand daughter married Captain Thomas D'Oyly and with her husband met a tragic end in the wreck of the *Charles Eaton* in 1834. Bolton receives a magnificent epitaph in Captain Mundy's pen and pencil sketches in India. (1817) which Major Hodson quotes: "This Officer is described as having possessed uncommon strength: when surrounded by overwhelming numbers he slew several of the enemy until his treacherous sword shivered in his hand, and he fell covered with wounds." His two sons followed him in the Bengal Army. The elder, Captain George Bolton of the 2nd Bengal Europeans, was born at Dinapore on June 3, 1788, and died in India on June 13, 1828. His wife Fanny Ahmuty whom he married at Berhampore on March 1, 1818, and who died on May 26, 1885, at the age of 79, must, we fancy, have been the grand-daughter of Colonel Arthur Ahmuty, the "uncouth strange wild Irishman" of Hickey's Memoirs, who came out to India on the *Royal Duke* in 1759, and died at Dinapore on December 6, 1793. In that case her father would be General James Ahmuty who was baptized in Calcutta on October 21, 1775 (and not November 5, as stated by Major Hodson), and after thirty-four years' service in the Bengal Army (1791-1825) died in London on January 12, 1864, in his ninetieth year. Major Hodson notes that he was on furlough "on private affairs" from 1825 until his death—a period of thirty-nine years! He married Anie Fearon, "late of Edinburgh" at Cawnpore in December 1805, and Fanny was no doubt their first child. The other Bolton Theophilus who was baptized at Cawnpore on January 8, 1793, was brigade major in Oudh and died at Agra on March 2, 1838.

A third name on the Rohilla monument is that of Lieut. John Zephaniah Mill Birch of the 2nd Bengal European battalion who was likewise killed at

the battle of Bitaurah. As his Christian names denote, he was the son of John Zephaniah Holwell's daughter Sarah, who married William Birch: and he was the brother of two well-known Calcutta citizens. Richard Comyns Birch of the Civil Service, and John Brereton Birch, the police magistrate. One of Richard Birch's sons, Lieut.-Col. Frederick William Birch, was killed by mutineers at Sitapur on June 3, 1857: and another was Lieut.-General Sir Richard James Holwell Birch (1803-1875) whose service began in 1821 and ended in 1861.

It is strange to find a Sheriff of Calcutta in a list of Army offices. But James Brice owed his nomination in 1800 to the fact that he was the brother-in-law of Sir John Anstruther the Chief Justice. His Military Service was of the briefest (1781 to 1783) and he became an assistant in the powder factory at Pulta. He died in Calcutta on October 28, 1808, at the age of forty-three.

The cadets came from all ranks and conditions of life. Some were the natural children of peers: such as the two sons of George Agar, Lord Callan, the son of Armar Corry, first Earl of Belmore, and the two sons of Thomas Charles Colyear, Viscount Milsington and fourth and last Earl of Portmare, of whom one, Col. Thomas David Colyear, married a Mahomedan lady and settled at Dukhani near Simla, where he died in 1875. Others were the sons of farmers or of tradesmen—a glazier (two sons) a wine-merchant, a mercer, a maltster, a miller, a bookseller, a printer, and so forth. A notable class were the London "bucks" who had been through their money. Many of these had been Hickey's boon companions: Ulysses Brown, who had been in the Horse Guards and who died as a Captain in the Bengal Infantry at Bhagalpur in 1798, and James Crockett or Crokatt whom Hickey recollected as "a dissipated London dasher" and who was killed in action on the Banas river during Monson's retreat before Holkar in 1804. Surgeons, clergymen, country squires, Court officials, city merchants, and Company's servants make up between them a substantial contingent: one Irish dean, Carleton, provides four sons. Nor are all of English nationality. There are several Swiss, such as Major Auberjonois (1787-1837): and even two Danes, the sons of Colonel Ole Bic, Governor of Serampore.

Two sons of Benedict Arnold, the American Revolutionary General who deserted to the British, found their way to Bengal. Edward Shippen Arnold (1780-1813) who received a cavalry cadetship in 1799 and arrived in India in 1801, was awarded in 1793 a pension of £100 a year in recognition of his father's services. He fought at Laswari and was deputy paymaster at Muttra from 1807 until his death at Dinapore on December 17, 1813. His brother Lieut. Colonel George Arnold (1787-1828) enjoyed a similar pension. He came out in 1804 and died at Kalpi in Bundelcund on October 2, 1828, when Lieutenant Colonel of the 2nd Light Cavalry, the regiment with which he was connected during the whole of his service.

Major-General John Carnac who fought at Plassey and died at Mangalore on November 29, 1800, at the age of eighty-four, has achieved greater fame than his oddly named brother Captain Scipio Carnac, who

came into the Company's Service from the King's Army in 1765 and resigning two years later, died at Bristol on October 24, 1812. Another unusual christian name is that of Romeo Arbuthnott whose two sons Harry and Thomas both received Bengal cadetships. The former died at Agra on August 15, 1806, at the age of twenty six, after being severely wounded in the fourth assault on Bhurtpore in the previous February: and the latter was fortytwo when he died at Dinapore on August 1, 1822. Captain Samuel Ishmael Bacon (1786-1819) was the cousin of the premier baronet of England, but was strangely named, for all that. There is also a Julius Caesar in the list: but unhappily nothing is recorded of him beyond the fact that he was a Lieutenant in December 1765. For some reason which is undisclosed, his classical cognomen was borne by Captain James Crawford who was known throughout the Bengal Army as Caesar Crawford: and who died at Kalpi on June 3, 1778, of sunstroke while on his way to Bombay with Col. Matthew Leslie's force to take the field against the Mahrattas. Another James Crawford, who died at Madras (where he had a brother Arthur in that army) on August 24, 1787, raised the Ramgarh Light Infantry in July 1778. It was named after him "Chota Crawford ki Pattan." In one of the notes to the "Sunyassee," a forgotten poem by James Hutchinson, Secretary to the Bengal Medical Board, which was published at Calcutta in 1837, these two Crawfords are confused, for it is related that the sepoys of the regiment when passing "the tomb in Bundelcund of the officer who raised the Corps" stopped to do poojah at his grave, and that a fakir was kept in attendance to tend a lighted lamp which hung above it. The reference to the regiment is unmistakable for it is stated that the two battalions "still retain their respective designations of Burrah and Chotah Crawford."

More extracts could be made: but this would not be fair to Major Hodson. We have said enough if we have made it clear that he has produced a book of extraordinary value and importance. There must be many members of the Calcutta Historical Society who have had relatives in the Bengal Army from 1758 to 1834. To them a study of Major Hodson's entries should prove full of interest. They will find that many strong men lived before the Agamemnons of to-day.

Lutf-un-nisa Begam¹

(Based on State Records.)

IF woman's lifelong devotion can redeem the memory of wicked man, such will be the fate of Siraj-ud-daula, the notorious Nawab of Bengal. His tragic life, so full of blood and tears—his own and his victims',—was bound up with that of a most faithful wife, whose history supplies one more illustration of the poet's words that "beauty and anguish walk hand in hand."

Lutf-un-nisa first entered the household of the mother of Siraj-ud-daula as a slave-girl. By birth she was a Hindu, as her name Raj Kunwar indicates. The youthful beauty and accomplishments of this maiden conquered the heart of young Siraj. His mother gave her up to him, and he dignified her with the title of Lutf-un-nisa Begam and had a daughter by her (2). She returned the love of Siraj, and was always faithful to him. She was her husband's partner in weal and woe alike, and in influence over his life she completely overshadowed his legitimate wife, Umdat-un-nisa (Bahu Begam), the daughter of Muhammad Irij Khan (3).

Siraj's father, Zain-ud-din Ahmad (Haibat Jang), the Governor of Bihar, was murdered by the Afghans in the early part of 1748. Nawab Aliwardi, Siraj's grandfather, nominally appointed the youth to his father's place but vested the actual authority in Rajah Janakiram, his deputy. Incited by Mehdi-nisar Khan, and other evil associates, Siraj resolved to take possession of Patna and to declare his independence. He set out for that city in company with Lutf-un-nisa and her mother in a covered carriage drawn by a pair of excellent oxen of amazing size and bulk, which could usually go 60 to 60 miles a day. On his arrival near Patna in the month of June 1750 he called upon the Rajah to deliver up the city. But Janakiram, in the absence of any orders from Nawab Aliwardi, refused to do so. Siraj thereupon assaulted the town, but was ultimately defeated and forced to take

(1) Read before the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Lahore in November 1925.

(2) "Raj Kunwar was the name of a slave-girl belonging to the mother of Siraj-ud-daula. The latter taking a liking to Raj Kunwar, his mother gave her up to him. He dignified her with the name of Lutf-un-nisa Begam and by her had a daughter who married Asad Ali Khan." Statement of the surviving members of the family and dependents of the late Siraj-ud-daula (25 July 1794).—*Public Con.* 28 July 1794, No. 18. This statement was compiled by Mr. N. B. Edmonstone, the Persian Translator, "from the best information that could be procured."—See Revenue letter to the Court of Directors, dated 29 Dec. 1794, para. 40 (Bengal Govt. Records).

According to *Mutaqherin* (text i. 182) also Lutf-un-nisa was originally a *jariya* (bond-maid). (3) Umdat-un-nisa Bahu Begam was married to Siraj in the rainy season of 1159 H. (c. Augt. 1746)—*Mutaqherin* text, i. 104. She had no children, and died on 10th November 1793 (5 Rabi-us-sani, 1208 H). See *Public Procdgs.* 24 Jany. 1794, No. 22.

refuge in the suburbs. News very soon reached Nawab Aliwardi, who was then engaged with the Marathas, and he came to Patna in hot haste. He received his grandson with the greatest affection, instead of reproaches, and took him back to Murshidabad. (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 94).

At the battle of Plassey (23 June 1757), Siraj-ud-daula was betrayed by his general and kinsman, (4) Mir Jafar, who owed his fortunes to Nawab Aliwardi's generosity. It was his treachery that brought about the total rout of the unfortunate Nawab who, seeing that all was lost, retired from the field to the Mansurganj Palace at Murshidabad. Fortune turned her back on him, and mankind did the same. Even Muhammad Irij Khan, his father-in-law, refused to stand by him in his adversity. Siraj resolved to escape alone. Lutf-un-nisa fell at his feet and begged him to let her accompany him. Siraj tried to convince her that his flight was merely temporary and that he meant to come back very soon with a strong force to recover his kingdom, but Lutf-un-nisa could not be persuaded to desist from her purpose.

At dead of night on 25th June Siraj loaded his jewels and a large sum of money upon some elephants and, accompanied by Lutf-un-nisa and her young daughter in covered carriages, hastened to Bhagwangola. He was travelling in disguise, like a miserable fugitive, his object being to proceed to Patna, where he hoped once more to raise an army. The heat of the day grew intense. Lutf-un-nisa took every care to mitigate the exhaustion of her husband, and fanned him continually with her handkerchief. At Bhagwangola Siraj and his family embarked in boats, but they were obliged to stop at Bahral, a village 4 miles from Rajmahal, on the other side of the Ganges, as the Nazirpur mouth of the river was not found navigable.

Siraj and his family had gone without food for three days and nights; at Bahral he disembarked and went to the neighbouring mausoleum of a *faqir* named Dana Shah in search of food. The richness of the stranger's slippers aroused the suspicion of the people at the tomb, and they found out who he was from the boatmen. Prompted by the hope of high rewards, they sent secret information to Mir Qasim, the son-in-law of Mir Jafar, who had come to the neighbourhood with an army, in search of the fugitive Nawab. Siraj was captured with his family and jewels. The fallen prince entreated for his life, but his abject humility only served to call forth the taunts and reproaches of men, to whom, but a few days before, he would have disdained to speak. "Mir Qasim Khan, who had got Lutf-un-nisa in his power, engaged her, partly by threats, and partly by promises, to disclose where her casket of jewels was; and this casket, the value of which could not be computed but by lakhs, fell in his hands of course." (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 240).

Mir Jafar was holding secret counsel with Clive, when the news of the capture of Siraj-ud-daula reached him. He heaved a sigh of relief, and immediately sent his son, Miran, to bring the prisoner to the city. Eight

(4) Mir Jafar had married Shah Khanam, the half-sister of Nawab Aliwardi and mother of Sadiq Ali Khan (Miran).

days after he had quitted it, Siraj was brought back to Murshidabad at about midnight like a common felon, and stood in the presence of Mir Jafar in the very palace where he had once ruled as the absolute master of millions.

It was thought dangerous to grant him his life. Miran was secretly instructed to place the Nawab in confinement at Jafaraganj and there put him to death. The task which many rejected with indignation, was at last accepted by Muhammad Beg, a wretch nourished from his infancy on the favours of Aliwardi's family.

The end of Siraj-ud-daula as described by his contemporary Ghulam Husain (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 242) was tragic in the extreme.

It was night. As soon as Muhammad Beg entered the prison, Siraj started up in alarm and asked, "Have you come to kill me?" The murderer said, "Yes." Then the captive gave himself up to despair and prepared for his end by kneeling down and praying to Allah "the Gracious and the Compassionate" for the pardon of his sins. Turning to Muhammad Beg again, he said in a broken voice: "So, my enemies will not leave me to retire into some corner and pass the rest of my days on a petty allowance. . . I see that I must die and thus atone for Husain Quli's blood which I have shed." His speech was cut short by Md. Beg suddenly striking him down with his sabre. As the fallen ruler of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa writhed on the ground, the butcher kept on slashing at him, and Siraj's face, so famous throughout the country for its youthful beauty and sweetness, was terribly mangled. "Enough—that is enough—I am done for—Husain Quli! thou art avenged," these were the last words of Siraj. Then his voice was stilled for ever in a pool of blood in that dark dungeon of Murshidabad (5).

Hated and despised by all though he was, Siraj-ud-daula had one faithful mourner in Lutf-un-nisa. She, with her infant daughter of four years, was banished to Dacca by Mir Jafar sometime in December 1758, along with the other ladies of the late Nawab's Court (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 281) where they were kept in confinement for some seven years; even the slender allowance which was ordered for them was not paid regularly. Their hardships and distress in the matter of food and other necessities of life, rendered their lives extremely miserable. Their small allowance began to be paid regularly month by month, only when Muin-ud-daula Muzaffar Jang (Muhammad Riza Khan) came to Dacca as its Governor. It was through the courtesy and kindness of Lord Clive, the Governor of Bengal, that they were released from prison and sent back to Murshidabad (6).

On their arrival at Murshidabad the Begams submitted an *arzi* (in December 1765) thanking the English Government for their release and begging to be granted a subsistence allowance for the rest of their lives.

(5) According to the *Muzaffar-nama* Siraj-ud-daula was born in 1140 H. (=Aug. 1727—July 1728) and ascended the *masnad* in 1189 H. (Oct. 1755—Sept. 1756). He was, therefore, 29 or 30 years of age at his death.

(6) Holwell, with his usual inaccuracy, says that Lutf-un-nisa and her young daughter were drowned along with Ghasiti and other Begams!—*An Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock*, etc. p. 47.

This document bears the seals, among others', of Sharf-un-nisa—wife of Nawab Aliwardi Khan, Lutf-un-nisa and her daughter (7).

It appears that the Company settled on Lutf-un-nisa and her daughter an allowance of Rs. 600 a month for their support. The Begam received her first rude shock when her only daughter lost her husband, Mir Asad Ali Khan. But further misfortunes were in store for her. Even this widowed daughter, the only stay of her life, died at the beginning of 1774, leaving behind her four daughters of tender age—Sharf-un-nisa, Asmat-un-nisa, Sakina, and Amat-ul-mahdi Begams (8). The Company, in consideration of the family and the circumstances of Lutf-un-nisa, generously continued the allowance (9) of Rs. 600, assigning Rs. 100 for herself, and Rs. 500 for her grand-daughters. On these orphans attaining their marriageable age, Lutf-un-nisa's pecuniary distress increased and she made the following petition in March 1787 to Governor-General Cornwallis, praying for an adequate pension to enable her to pass the rest of her days in honour and dignity:—

“ Since the death of Nawab Siraj-ud-daula and the plunder of the goods and effects of all his relations and specially of myself, I have been tossed about by the waves of oppression and cruelty in the sea of grief and sorrow. I refrain from recapitulating my tale of woe as it can only increase my sorrow, and afflict the hearer. I come, therefore, direct to the point and beg to submit that on the death of the late Nawab Siraj-ud-daula, Mir Muhammad Jafar Ali Khan sent me to Jahangirnagar [Dacca] and fixed on me an allowance of Rs. 600. When the Company assumed the direct control of the country I came back from Jahangirnagar. Some time after, my daughter died and then the said sum of Rs. 600 was distributed in this way that her four daughters (my grand-daughters) received Rs. 500 among them and Rs. 100 was allotted to my share. As most of my attendants and maidservants have been in my service since the days of the late Nawab, I am unable to dismiss them now, for the name and the honour of the deceased must be maintained. And besides them there are the male servants indispensably necessary for the upkeep of a degree of dignity among the people. But I have no *jagir* nor any such resource as might enable me to meet these expenses, and whatever goods and effects I possessed were plundered after the death of the Nawab. Of the four grand-daughters two are married and their expenditure has therefore increased. The other two are unmarried, which means that the heavy burden of their wedding has yet to be lifted up, and this is beyond my present capacity and means. It is a time-honoured rule, and the cause of justice also demands it—that if

(7) *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, i. 452, Letter No. 2761, received by the Governor-General on 10th December 1765.

(8) Petition of Lutf-un-nisa. R. B. P. 14 June 1774, No. 20 (Bengal Government Records).

(9) Letter to Richard Barwell, Esq., Chief etca. Provincial Council of Revenue at Dacca, dated Fort William 14th June 1774. *Ibid.*, p. 5248.

- ever a chief is found guilty of an offence his wife and children are not held responsible for it in any way. The same has been the practice with the Company with regard to every chief found guilty of unfair and improper conduct, that is the offender has been punished for his misdeeds, while a pension has been fixed for the maintenance of his children and dependents. But my case has been treated as an exception to the rule and I have received no pensions till the present moment by which I could pass my days with some semblance of comfort. I am addressing this petition to you because a kinder, juster, and more generous ruler never came to this land before and pray that you will kindly grant me a pension to enable me to pass the rest of my days in honour and dignity (10)."

But this petition failed to secure any relief of her misery, and she who had once been the beloved consort of the King of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had to end her days on the petty allowance of Rs. 100 a month (11).

A virtuous woman, loving and tender, Lutf-un-nisa ever cherished the memory of her lord and rejected with scorn several proposals of marriage after the death of her husband and, on one occasion, her reply to her suitor was that a person accustomed to ride an elephant, could not stoop to ride a donkey. (*Muzaffar-nama*, p. 106). She was placed in charge of the Khush Bagh cemetery, (12) on the right bank of the Bhagirathi, opposite Moti Jhil at Murshidabad. Nawab Aliwardi and his favourite grandson, Siraj-ud-daula, lie here side by side. Lutf-un-nisa used to receive Rs. 305 per month for the maintenance of the *qaris* (readers of the Quran) and the *langar* (charity-kitchen) and other expenses connected with their graves (13). She frequented the tomb of her husband and for many years employed Muhammadan priests (*mullahs*) to say prayers there (14). She would often strew flowers on the

(10) *Original Receipts* 1787, No. 176.

(11) Lutf-un-nisa had some property at Patna,—the masjid, madrasa, and house built by Siraj-ud-daula's father in that city.—*Vol. of Eng. Transl. of Pers. Letters Received*, 22 Feby. 1790.

A letter of the Provincial Council of Revenue at Patna, dated 4 July 1774, gives the nature of her property at Patna:—

"... The fund appropriated to the support of the tomb [of Zain-ud-din] arose from the profits on Akbarpur Roani, a muqarrari village in Pargana Azimabad, and the duties collected in Mandovi Begampur, a ganj adjoining to the tomb. . . The ganj was the principal source and stood exempted from the Government's taxes by a *sanad* procured from the King by Mahabat Jang in 1156." *R. B. P.* 19 July 1774, Nos. 19-20 (Bengal Govt. Records).

The collection from Begampur amounted to Rs. 1,000 a year.

(12) "This cemetery was first endowed by Aliwardi Khan, who allotted Rs. 305 monthly, from the collections of the villages of Bandardeh and Nawabganj, to defray the expenses of keeping the place in order."—Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. vi., see *Murshidabad*.

(13) Lutf-un-nisa to the Governor-General. Recd. on 23 Sep. 1789.—*Original Receipts*.

(14) *Journey from Bengal to England*, Geo. Forster (1798), i. 12. Letter dated 31st August, 1782.

earth covering his last remains and, it is said, she breathed her last in November 1790 while in the act of adoration at his grave. (15) She survived her husband for 34 years, and lies buried by his side, in the Khush Bagh ('the Garden of Happiness'), which is still extant and proclaims the unshaken fidelity of Lutf-un-nisa.

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

(15) "After compliments we beg to report that our grandmother, Lutf-un-nisa Begam, has died."—Grand-daughters of Nawab Siraj-ud-daula to the Governor-General,—received 24th November 1790. *Original Receipts* 1790, No. 328.

Our Library Table

The Travels of John Macdonald, 1745-1779: Memoirs of an Eighteenth century Footman: with an Introduction by John Beresford. (Broadway Travellers Series: Routledge: Ten Shillings and Six Pence net.)

IN 1790 a volume of "Travels in various parts of Europe Asia and Africa" by John Macdonald, a cadet of the family of Keppoch in Inverness-shire was printed in London for the author and "sold by J. Forbes, Covent Garden." The book seems to have attracted little attention, and the only known copy is in the British Museum. A casual reference to it in Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century" led Mr. John Beresford to seek its acquaintance: and the present reprint is the result.

Macdonald was the son of a Highland grazier and was born in 1741. His father fell at Culloden and his mother being likewise dead, his sister who was a child of fourteen, took him and his two brothers (of whom the youngest was two and a half) by road from Inverness to Edinburgh in 1745. He became a postilion and then a groom, and in 1760 a valet or footman in which capacity he served a number of masters (including "Ossian" Macpherson, who wrote his preface for him) and accompanied them to various countries. In 1779 we lose sight of him at Toledo, where he marries a Spanish wife and appears to have settled down.

The interest of his memoirs to Indian readers lies in the fact that in 1769 he went to Bombay with Colonel Alexander Dow, the author of the History of Hindostan, and remained there for more than three years. In the course of seventy-five pages he holds our attention while he describes his experiences on the voyage out and home, and in Bombay. Unfortunately, neither here nor elsewhere has Mr. Beresford thought fit to supply a single note, although Grose's Voyage to the East Indies and Forbes' Oriental Memoirs lay ready to his hand. The account of Colonel Dow, which is given in the introduction is also incomplete. We will endeavour to fill some of the gaps.

Dow's first appearance in the East was as a sailor at Bencoolen where he had fled after killing a man in a duel. In 1760 we find him in Calcutta as an ensign in the Company's service, and he became a captain in 1764. His first meeting with Macdonald was in London in 1768: and being about to go out to Bombay as commandant of the sepoy battalions in that Presidency, he engaged Macdonald as his servant for forty guineas a year. They sailed in the *Lord Camden* under the command of Captain Nathaniel Smith (who was later on a member of Parliament and Director of the Company from 1774 to 1795 and Chairman in 1784) and reached Bombay in the middle of September 1769 "after all the rains were over." Dow, like all

Bengal men, soon tired of Bombay: and when Sir Eyre Coote arrived there from Fort Saint George in the beginning of 1771, he obtained leave to travel overland with him to England. Macdonald remained behind and took service first with Colonel Keating and then with Mr. Shaw a member of Council. At this point Mr. Beresford's researches end. But the Court Minutes of February 19, 1772 show that Dow received permission to "proceed to his station in Bengal on the ships of next season:" and a further entry on December 23, 1772 informs us that he was allowed to "take John Farquharson as his servant to Bengal, the Committee of Shipping being satisfied he is only such." (It is to be regretted that he was "only such," for his memoirs would have formed an excellent sequel to Macdonald's book). Having thus been restored to the Company's service, Dow sailed from Portsmouth on January 30, 1773, in the *Stormont* (Capt. John Rogers). He was at Bankipore in December 1774, and applied in the following June for the command at Chunar. But his next employment was in connexion with the occupation of Chandernagore in 1775: for we find Madame Chevalier the wife of the Governor writing from "Garety" on July 6, a letter to the Council at Fort William in which she claims various articles seized by Colonel Dow and asks for liberty to live at Ghirotty House with a guard of Sepoys. On October 23, 1775 Dow was appointed Commissary-General. In March 1777 he was at Chunar and in February 1779 at Barrackpore in command of the third sepoy brigade. His death at "Boglepore" on July 31, 1779, terminates a career which is, to say the least remarkable, in view of the severe strictures on the Company's administration in which he indulges in his published writings.

Macdonald thoroughly enjoyed his voyage out, and his description of the island of Johanna, a favourite halting place off the coast of Madagascar, is as good as anything in Hickey. "The first thing that was done in the morning" on their arrival was, he says "to send the men on shore who had the scurvy, to put them into the earth up to the neck, and to remain there one Day, which is the most speedy cure in a hot country." As they sailed along the coast of Malabar, they saw a fight at sea between the fleets of Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas which ended in the defeat of the former.

Colonel Dow had "made his fortune in Bengal and was a single man, he did not mind money" and he therefore kept open house. Among his guests must have been Eliza Draper who was then in Bombay for she did not elope from her husband's residence at Mazagon and betake herself to Masulipatam until January 1773: but Macdonald does not mention her although elsewhere he describes the death in London of Laurence Sterne in 1768 in the most graphic manner. In April Dow and a number of friends "made an appointment to go to the hot wells at Dillanagogue in the Mahrattas country inland, over and against Bombay," we have been unable to identify this place and Mr. Beresford does not assist us. But from the clues Macdonald gives us the reference seems to be to the hot wells of Visraboy (Vajrabai or Vajreshwari) in the Thana district, lying in the bed of the Tansa river twelve miles north of Bhiwandi (Macdonald's "Bundy"). They are

mentioned by Forbes (*Oriental Memoirs*: 1834 edn. Vol. I. p. 105) who says that in essential respects they are similar to the wells at Dazagon, thirty miles from Bankot or Fort Victoria. This was another health-resort. It was on the coast, 73 miles south-east of Bombay: and Macdonald tells us that "people are sent there just as gentlemen are sent from England to Lisbon or the South of France, for the benefit of their health."

Macdonald also went to "Bencoot" where Colonel Keating, who was then his employer "got a great deal better by taking the work," and visited Darygan (Dazagon). "Raggajee Angerry, a sovereign prince" who received the party on their way back overland to Bombay, is the "Raghojee Angria" of Forbes who resided at "Colabie," (Colaba) "a fortified island half a mile from Ali Bhaug" (Alibag) and who paid a yearly tribute of two lakhs of rupees to the Mahrattas. An admirable account is given of the durbar.

Bombay, in those days (says Macdonald) was about fourteen miles long: the town of that name is at one end, where all the shipping and all the business is carried on, and at the other the town of Mayam (Mahim) where there is a fortification. The Governor lived at Parella (Parel): and there were Bungalows on Malabar Hill which is "like Shooter's Hill in Kent, but rather larger."

The voyage home was made as Captain's servant in the *Hampshire* (Capt. Thomas Taylor) and the description is as good as that of the Voyage out. They sailed down the Malabar Coast, and stopped ten days at Tellicherry "one of the pleasantest places I ever saw" no doubt because an Englishman "kept a public-house" there. The next halt was at Cuchiline (Cochin) which was then in the hands of the Dutch: and loading of cargo was completed at Anjengo. Landing here was a perilous business, for the surf is the highest in Asia, except Madras. "We got over the first and second, but the third was about twelve feet high:" and the boat was overturned. "With a great struggle we saved our lives and all we had." The Cape was rounded with the usual storm: ten days were spent at St. Helena, "a wholesome, pleasant place and a fine keen scorching air:" turtles were taken on board at Ascension: and after calling at Portsmouth, the ship anchored on October 13, 1772 at Blackwall, after a voyage of six months.

We entirely agree with Mr. Beresford that the narrative which abounds in vivid pictures of contemporary life in India and Europe, was well worth reprinting: and we have noticed hardly a tenth of the good things it contain: but it badly needs the notes with which Mr. Beresford has failed to provide it.

The English Factories in India: Vol. XII, 1665-1667: by Sir William Foster, C.I.E., (Clarendon Press, Oxford: Eighteen Shillings net).

The three years covered by this, the twelfth, volume of Sir William Foster's invaluable series, were marked by the outbreak of war with the Dutch, and later with the French, the Plague of 1665, and the Great Fire

of London in 1666. As regards the war, neutrality was enforced by the "country powers" at Surat and Masulipatam and in Bengal: and most of the ships engaged in the overseas trade escaped capture. The records relating to the Bengal factories are scanty. Job Charnock was at Patna, with two companions: and is busy collecting saltpetre: he "findeth as yet noe stop in said investment." Hooghly, Balasore, and Cossimbazar were the other trading centres, and all were under the general superintendence of the Agent at Fort Saint George. Complaints were made from London of the dearness of the Bengal goods and a hint was given that unless these could be procured at better rates, the company would be "totally disheartened to continue any factories at that place." From the factors themselves we learn that most of the Europe goods sold at Balasore, and that although Hooghly was useful as a central warehouse, there was little local trade there "by reason of the great coustume paid in the way." Regret is expressed that the company have disapproved the appointment of a resident at Delhi: if an imperial firman could be obtained much expense would be saved "in bribing the Nabob or his officers which swarme in every government."

In 1666 the chief concern of the factors arousing out of the Dutch blockade of the two ships, the *Greyhound* and the *American*—which they had driven behind the bar at Balasore. By April 20, the crew of the latter vessel had been reduced by sickness to ten, and the purser was in command. The *Greyhound* had thirty survivors, and one of the mates was acting as master. On May 29 "it pleased the Almighty to arrive in safety" in Balasore river, "shipp *Doreas*, of burthen 75 tuns." She was one of the smallest vessels ever sent to India, and the first to make a direct voyage from England to Bengal. A "privateir of Flushing" captured her, however, near the Scillics on her way home, although she was "fitted for nimble sayling" and carried her into Brest.

On the Coromandel coast, the outstanding episode was the imprisonment by Sir Edward Winter of George Foxcroft who had been sent out to supersede him at Madras. In Western India, Bombay was transferred to King Charles the Second by the Portuguese. The frontispiece to the volume is a reproduction of an undated plan of "Bombaim" in the Public Record Office, which Sir William Foster identifies with the "ruff draught" sent home by Henry Gary the King's Lieutenant-Governor to Lord Arlington in December 1665, "which bee pleased to show unto His Majesty." It is similar to the plan given in Ovington's *voyage to Suratt*.

The English Factories in India: Vol. XIII, 1668-1669: by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. (Clarendon Press, Oxford: Eighteen Shillings net).

With this, the thirteenth volume, Sir William Foster completes a task which has, as he tells us in his preface, occupied much of his time for over twenty years: and the series which began with the year 1618 will, it is hoped, be continued in separate form for each of the three Presidencies of

Madras, Bombay, and Bengal. Nearly a third of the 315 pages of the present volume are devoted to the affairs of Bombay which was handed over by Charles the Second to the Company on September 23, 1668. Surat continued, however, to be the headquarters on the western coast until 1687, although Gerald Aungier was in January 1670 appointed to the joint office of President of Surat and Governor of Bombay. Thereafter until May 1800 Surat affairs were in charge of an officer styled at first "chief for the affairs of the British nation and Governor of the Mogul Castle and Fleet of Surat," and later on Lieutenant Governor: the last of these being Daniel Seton whose monument is in the Cathedral at Bombay. Under Sir George Oxenden, who died at Surat in July 1669 and whose mausoleum still reminds us of the past prosperity of that port, and Aungier, who succeeded him and who likewise died at Surat in 1677, the development of the island of Bombay was steadily taken in hand. Orders were even given that "free burghars" should be encouraged to settle there, with a view to making Bombay "an English collony:" substantial fortifications were erected and schemes introduced for the improvement of the revenues and the encouragement of trade.

On the eastern side of India, the main episode was the recovery of Madras from Sir Edward Winter and the release and restoration to office of George Foxcroft. Both returned eventually to England. Winter died at York House Battersea on March 2, 1686, and the monument in the Parish Church is reproduced, as to the bust, by way of frontispiece to the present volume. Foxcroft appears to have died on January 25, 1692, at the age of ninety one, but his monument in the old Parish Church of Marylebone has disappeared. The chronicles of the company's servants in Bengal during these two years are mainly concerned with domestic quarrels. The factors had been allowed to bring their wives with them, and peace was not thereby promoted: indeed, the "Committes" or Directors were obliged in November 1668 to threaten to recall any women who proved to be the "instruments of contention." The headquarters were virtually at Balasore during the period, and the other factories were at Hooghly, Cossimbazar, and Patna (where Job Charnock was still chief). A regular factory at Dacca was authorized on January 24, 1688. "Wee observe what you have written concerning Decca that it is a place that will vend much Europe goods" and "wee give you liberty to send two or three fitt persons thither to reside." "The praious history of the English at Dacca had been largely concerned with the adventures of one Thomas Pratt, whom Tavernier found in 1664 as "chief of the English" and who is also mentioned by Manucci, but who was in reality in the Nawab's service. We learn from a letter addressed to Surat from Balasore on October 20, 1668, that "this person formerly managed what buisynesse of the Companies [there was] at Patta [sc. Dacca] in Mosum Ckaun's time," meaning thereby Muazzam Khan or Mir Jumla, and that "Shausteh Ckaun" had made him a munsudbar of 300 munsud and furnished him with about 10,000 rupees intending "his goeing upp to the King" at Delhi. But "through some report that the Nabob had written

against him, as that hee kept a correspondence with the Mogue" [Mugh] Rajah of Arakan, he made his escape on a boat with two or three Englishmen and some Portuguese. "Since tis reported that hee etc. that accompanied him are murdered by the Rajah, on some jealousies of their fidelity."

These details serve to complete the account of Pratt which was given by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali in his recent article in these columns on "The English Factory at Dacca" (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 31-33): and are mentioned in this place because of their bearing upon the despatch in 1669 of John March to Dacca to secure the removal of the obstacles put in the way of English trade by Shaista Khan who was irritated by the flight of Pratt. "The business goes on soe slowly in this cursed durbar," wrote March on July 12, that he was not able to return to Cossimbazar with the Nawab's parwana until the beginning of November.

Two other Bengal matters may be noticed. The first is Sir William Foster's identification of Captain John Goldsborough who commanded the *Antelope* when she was at Balasore in 1669, with Sir John Goldsborough who came to Calcutta in August 1693 with the high sounding title of "Supervisor Commissary Generall and Chief Governor of all the Indian Factories," and laid out the lines of old Fort William. The second is the establishment of the famous Bengal Pilot Service by order of the Company dated November 20, 1668. "Divers persons" were to be "instructed as pylotts: the which the better to accomplish let those that doe comaund the vessells up and downe the river put all persons from the youngest to the eldest, upon taking depths, sholdings, setting of tydes currents distances buoyes and making of drafts of the river, or what else needful." And "for a suply of young men to bee bredd up" five apprentices were entertained for seven years, "the first three years at 6 *l*, the next two years at 7 *l*, and the last two years at 8 *l* per annum the whole to be paid them by you for their provision of cloathes." The first of the names is that of "George Hieoron" [Heron] who was the author of one of the earliest charts of the river and who died at Madras on May 2, 1727, at the age of eighty-one, after a residence in India of sixty-one years: His daughter Mary who married Captain John Powny "commanding a ship out of Madras" presented her husband with seventeen children and died at Madras on May 7, 1780, according to James Augustus Hicky of the *Bengal Gazette*, at the age of "upwards of one hundred years."

EVAN COTTON.

The Editor's Note Book

THE Trustees of the Victoria Memorial are to be congratulated upon their purchase of the oil-painting by Zoffany representing "A Tiger Hunt near Chandernagore in 1788," of which an account was given in the issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* for January-March of this year (Vol. XXXIII, p. 82). There are now four examples of the work of Zoffany in the collection, and each of them is an admirable specimen of his art. Among other additions made during the year we may note a beautiful view of Calcutta by William Daniell and a fine portrait of Samuel Feake, a Calcutta worthy of the days of Queen Anne, which is attributed to Joseph Highmore (1692-1780) who painted portraits of General Wolfe and the Duke of Cumberland. Attention may also be drawn to the oil-painting by Colonel Meadows Taylor (author of the *confessions of a thug*) of the Rajah of Shorapur and his Ranis, presented by his daughter, Mrs. MacKenzie, facsimiles of Warren Hastings' application for a writership and Nelson's letter to the Directors, presented by Sir William Foster, a photogravure of the lately discovered portrait of William Hickey presented, together with a facsimile of a passage from his *Memoirs* by Mr. Alfred Spencer, and Lord Macaulay's original draft of the Penal Code (in two Volumes), presented by the heirs of the Late Rai Dhiraj Karan Bahadur of Monghyr.

SAMUEL FEAKE arrived in Bengal on May 26, 1700, and succeeded Robert Hedges, who died on December 28, 1717 (and is buried by his wish in a nameless grave), as President and Governor of Fort William on January 12, 1718, being then Chief of Cossimbazar. He made over charge of his office to John Deane on January 17, 1723, and returning to Europe obtained in 1733 a seat in the Court of Directors which he retained until 1751. On three occasions—in 1739, 1743, and 1746—he was elected Deputy Chairman, and was twice Chairman—in 1740 and again in 1744. His son Thomas Feake died at Dacca on October 7, 1750, and his tomb is in the Dacca cemetery. He became Chief of Jugdea, in the Noakhali district, in February 1742 and succeeded Thomas Joshua as Chief of Dacca in April 1745. Tablets bearing the names of John and Mary Feake, and dated 1748, have been inserted in the pavement of the old Portuguese Church near Dacca: these were probably his children. A monument to Samuel Feake and his wife Anne (who died on board the *Devonshire* Indiaman on May 10, 1723 on her passage home) may be seen in the Parish Church of Henham in Essex.

Samuel and
Thomas Feake.

DANIELL'S picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1834 under the puzzling title of "Calcutta from Garden House Reach." It was engraved for the *Oriental Annual* of the same year and "Garden House Reach." may be found, with slight variations, in the *Picturesque Voyage to India by Way of China*, which was published at a much earlier date (1810). The view is obviously taken from some point near Sibpur: and the suburb which we call Garden Reach is on the same side of the river as Calcutta: but we know from Maria Graham that the name was also applied at one time to the Howrah side, in the vicinity of the Botanical Gardens, where there were several garden houses, one of these belonged to Sir John Royds, judge of the Supreme Court from 1797 to 1817. Maria Graham thus describes it in her journal on November 20, 1810: "the botanical garden is beautifully situated on the banks of the Hooghly and gives the name of Garden Reach to a bend of the river. Above the garden is an extensive plantation of teak. . . and at the end of the plantation are the house and gardens of Sir John Royds, laid out with admirable taste and containing many specimens of curious plants." Daniell in any case must have painted the view from a sketch by another hand, for Wellesley's Government House which dominates the landscape, had not been thought of when he and his uncle left Calcutta.

TWO watercolour sketches of Calcutta and Madras in 1796 have also been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall, which possess a special interest of their own. They are painted by Benjamin A Midshipman's Sketches. Donne who was at the time a midshipman on the *Fort William* Indiaman (798 tons, Captain George Simson). She left Portsmouth for the (Coromandel) Coast and Bay (of Bengal) on July 11, 1796, and anchored at Kedgerree on February 22, 1796 and remained there until April 27. The sketch of Chandpal Ghat was made between those dates. From August 27 to September 12, 1796, the ship lay in Madras Roads (when the sketch of Fort Saint George was made) and reached her moorings in the Thames on December 19, 1797. This was Donne's first voyage in the Company's service: and he was then nineteen years of age. His second voyage was made to China as fifth officer of the *Fort William* (April 22, 1798 to August 2, 1799). He then sailed in her to Bombay as third officer (March 31, 1801, to June 12, 1802), Captain Joseph Boulderson in command. This was the sixth and last voyage of the *Fort William*. There is no further record of Donne until April 15, 1808 when he appears for the last time in Hardy's *Register of East India Shipping* as second officer of the *Lord Keith* (Captain Peter Campbell) which sailed from Portsmouth for St. Helena and Bengal on that day and returned to her home moorings on January 21, 1810. The *Fort William* Indiaman was built at Calcutta in Colonel Watson's dockyard at Kidderpore. William Hickey in his *Memoirs* (Vol. IV. p. 30) writes: "In the month of July

[1794] I had with me [at Chinsurah] Captain Simson, chief mate of the *Seahorse* when I went out on her in the year 1777. . . Captain Simson then commanded a very fine Indiaman called the *Fort William*, which ship had been built for him by Colonel Watson, Major Mestayer, and other men who had known him as an officer and were desirous of promoting his interests." Simson commanded her from January 16, 1786, to August 2, 1799: and took her for five voyages.

MRS. GEORGE LYELL, the widow of a former head of the great Calcutta firm of Macneill and Company, has intimated her intention of bequeathing to the Victoria Memorial Hall her husband's valuable collection of paintings, engravings, and books relating to India: and the trustees have accepted the offer. Included in the bequest are the following ten oil-paintings by Thomas and William Daniell, of whose art Mr. Lyell was a great admirer:

A noble gift.

- (1) The Falls of Courtallum in the Tinnevely district, by Thomas Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1798, and reproduced as No. 3 in the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery*:
- (2) The Falls of Puppenassum in the same district: by Thomas Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1800:
- (3) The European Factories at Canton: by William Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1806, and reproduced in *A Picturesque Voyage to India by Way of China*:
- (4) A view of Najibabad in Rohilkhand: by William Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1828, and engraved by J. H. Kernot for the *Oriental Annual* of 1835:
- (5) "Hindoo Females on the Banks of the Ganges:" by William Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1827, and engraved by W. D. Taylor for the *Oriental Annual* of 1834:
- (6) The Taj Mahal at Agra, viewed from the opposite side of the river Jumna, by William Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1829 and engraved by J. Lee for the *Oriental Annual* of 1834:
- (7) A smaller picture of the same: without figures in the foreground.
- (8) The Banyan Tree: by William Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1833 and engraved by G. Hollis for the *Oriental Annual* of 1834:
- (9) The Jumma Musjid at Delhi: by William Daniell.
- (10) A portrait group of three officers, with the Rock of Trichinopoly in the background: by Thomas Daniell.

There are two other oil-paintings: a copy of Home's portrait of the two Daniells which hangs in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and a view by Solvyns (1793) of the residence at Barrypore, near Calcutta, of Richard Goodlad, (writer 1771) salt agent for the twenty four pergunnahs.

AMONG the papers of Mr. Lyell are interesting references to Mrs. Rose Wood, the daughter of William Daniell, who died at Chertsey on December 31, 1913, in her 103rd year. She was born in Fitzroy-Square on March 23, 1811, and baptized in the Old Parish Church of St. Pancras. One of her uncles, Richard Westall, R. A. was the first drawing master of the Princess Victoria: and she occasionally saw the future Queen Empress when she accompanied her uncle to Kensington Palace in the royal carriage, she was twice married and by an odd coincidence both her husbands who were distant cousins were named George Wood. Her second marriage took place at Chertsey in 1864, and she was left a widow in 1877. After her first marriage in 1834, she went to America with her husband and remained there for seventeen years when she returned to Chertsey. In her youth she was an accomplished painter. Her father William Daniell died in 1837 in his sixty-ninth year, and her great uncle Thomas Daniell in 1840 at the age of ninety-one.

A centenarian
daughter of William
Daniell.

DO Modern Mariners speak of the "Elephant" gales at the close of the monsoon? The latest use of the phrase which we have been able to find is in Dr. Henry Moses' *Sketches of India*, a book published in London in 1850 and dealing with life in Bombay. The following passage is taken from page 103:

The "elephant" gales. "The monsoon is not over until the end of September, and no sensible merchant will allow his vessel to go to sea until after the elephanta gales have passed away." Dr. Moses' book appears to have been overlooked by the compilers of *Hobson Jobson* and also by their editor Mr. Crooke: who have contented themselves with earlier references. Sir Thomas Roe writes on August 20, 1616, while at Ajmere: "This day and the night past fell a storm of rayne called the Oliphant, usuall at going out of the raynes." Wouter Schouten in his *Oost Indische Voyagic* (1659) says: "The boldest among us became dismayed and the more when the whole culminated in such a terrific storm that we were compelled to believe it must be that yearly raging tempest which is called the elephant. This storm annually in September and October makes itself heard in a frightful manner in the Sea of Bengal." Ivas, the surgeon of H. M. S. *Kent*, notes in his journal under date of October 10, 1756: "We had what they call here an elephanta, which is an excessive hard gale with very severe thunder lightning and rain but it was of short duration." Tryer in 1673 speaks of being caught by "the tail of the elephant full in our mouth," when "winding about the South-West part of Cailon": and Ovington who made "a voyage to Suratt in the year 1689" writes at p. 137: "The monsoons are rude and boisterous in their departure as well as their coming in, which two seasons are called the elephant in India and just before their breaking up take their farewell for the most part in rugged puffing weather." Mr. Crooke derives the word from the *hathiya*, the thirteenth lunar asterism connected with

the sign of the elephant, and points out that the hathiya is at the end of the rains. This is borne out by most of the quotations: but there are notable exceptions. For example, in the first Volume of Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies* (1772) we may read at page 33: "The setting in of the rains is commonly ushered in by a violent thunderstorm called the elephanta, a name which it probably receives in the Asiatic style from the comparison of its force to that of the elephant."

MENTION is made in the second volume of the *East India Military* calendar (1824) of a Major Pemble as "commanding the second line" of the

British forces under Major Hector Munro at the battle of Buxar on October 23, 1764: and we likewise find Munro

himself in his despatch to the President at Fort William (Bengal Secret Consultations, November 6, 1764) stating that he "sent orders to Major Pemble who commanded the second line." There is a further allusion to Pemble in Munro's letter of October 26, 1764 to the Earl of Sandwich which was published in the *London Gazette* of June 15—18, 1765, and also in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Vol. 35, p. 256): "I wish Major Pemble might be recommended to the Chairman of the Court of Directors for his bravery and good conduct." Clive in his despatch of May 17, 1766, also speaks highly of his merits. But the subsequent career of this officer has hitherto remained untraced in any account of the battle. The details obtainable from Dodwell and Miles are extremely meagre: it is merely stated that he was promoted in February 1767 [sic] to be Lieutenant-Colonel and "removed to Bombay" from which establishment the *Military Calendar* (Vol. II, p. 243) informs us that he was transferred with Major John Scott, who attained notoriety in later years as Scott Waring, members of Parliament and agent for Warren Hastings.

THE mystery has now been cleared up by the reprint in the "Broadway Travellers Series" of the *Travels of John Macdonald*, a scarce book published in London in 1790 of which the only known copy is in the British Museum. When Macdonald arrived in Bombay in 1769 as servant to Colonel Alexander Dow,

Major-General Pemble."

the historian of Hindustan, who had been appointed to command the sepoys at that presidency, "Major-General Pemble" was, he tells us, commander-in-Chief, and he records his death in the following year at Bankot (Fort Victoria), "one of our settlements, a fine airy situation as any in India." He was suffering from dropsy: and Macdonald asserts that his illness followed his insistence upon an order that the "Gentoo Officers" should wear boots of leather "entirely against their caste and religion." His successor as commander in chief was General David Wedderburn who arrived in Bombay in August 1770 after his death, with orders for his transfer to Madras. Wedderburn was killed at the capture of Broach in 1772, and his tomb may still be seen in a corner of the old fort.

IS it possible to identify the "Major-General Pimble" of Macdonald's Travels with the "Major Pemble" of Munro's despatch? The answer can be returned in the affirmative, as the result of the researches which have been most courteously made by Mr. Ottewill, the Superintendent of Records at the India Office. From the Court Minutes of February 7, 1753, it appears that Charles Pemble was appointed a Lieutenant on the Bombay establishment: and the following additional details have been obtained from the official "list of officers of the Bombay Artillery." He was promoted to be Captain Lieutenant on March 1, 1758, Captain in October of the same year, brevet Major on January 1, 1765, Major on March 25, 1766, Lieutenant-Colonel on February 12, 1768, and Colonel in January 1769. In 1761 he was director of the Laboratory at Bombay and submitted to the Governor and Council on September 1 a report on the transit of Venus, which was sent to the Court of Directors. From 1762 to 1765 he was commandant of the Bombay Artillery, and embarked on October 12, 1763 for Bengal. The date of his arrival is fixed by the evidence given by Munro before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1771. "I arrived in May 1764 with a detachment from the Company's forces from Bombay." He received his brevet majority for his gallantry at the battle of Buxar, where his horse was shot under him, and commanded a force sent against Chunar in December 1764. In a despatch to Bengal of December 24, 1765, the Directors say, "you did very well to give Captain Pemble a Major's Commission on the Bengal establishment." On March 26, 1766, orders are sent that Pemble is to return to Bombay by the first opportunity either with or without the rest of the Officers of the Bombay detachment under his command and that on arrival there he is to be granted a Major's commission on that establishment of even date with the brevet given to him in Bengal on January 1, 1765. In a later despatch of March 16, 1768, the Directors repeat that "Lieutenant Colonel Pemble who belongs to the Bombay establishment is to proceed thither accordingly" and announce that they have appointed him "Colonel and Commander-in-Chief of all the Company's forces at that Presidency." He had already taken over charge on February 12, 1768 and died on May 11, 1770, at Bankot, as related by Macdonald.

THE following note, which appeared in the *Athenaeum* on May 27, 1905, is worth reprinting in its entirety, for it calls attention to the earliest game of cricket which was probably played in India. The first mention of cricket in India. The writer is the late Mr. J. S. Cotton, editor of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and younger brother of Sir Henry Cotton:—

In a curious book, which in itself merits a brief description, I have found what I make bold to call the first mention of cricket played in India. The title of the book is "A Compendious History of

the Indian Wars " by Clement Downing (London 1737). It does not seem to have been used by Sir Henry Yule when compiling his Anglo-Indian Glossary, though it abounds with "Hobson Jobsons" that would have been dear to his heart. Raja is always printed as "Rodger," Nawab as "Annabob," and Subahdar as "Subberdaw." The author was a sailor who took part in the sea fights against the Marathor "pyrate" Angria: and consequently it is not unnatural that he should call all Marathas "Angrians."

However, to come to the point. When his boat was lying for a fortnight [in 1721] in some channel of the Gulf of Cambay, Clement Downing writes (p. 229):—

"Though all the Country round was inhabited by the *Culeys*, we every day diverted ourselves with playing at Cricket and other Exercises, which they would come and be spectators of. But we never ventured to recreate ourselves in this Method without having Arms for ourselves and guarded by some of our soldiers, lest the country should come down on us."

I may add that the "New English Dictionary" quotes a reference for a similar game of "sailors' cricket" played at Aleppo as early as *circa* 1676.

Downing's book was sold, when published, for two shillings and six pence a copy: but it has become scarce, and must now be read in Sir William Foster's reprint (Clarendon Press, 1925).

FOR a notice of cricket in Calcutta, we must wait until January 18 and 19, 1804, when mention is made of a grand match between the Etonian Civilians and all other servants of the Company resident in Calcutta. The Etonians, it is related, scored 232 runs, while their opponents, who had two innings to their one, were not able to put together more than 80.

GOLF in Calcutta is a most flourishing institution nowadays, but we have not been able to find any record of a Golf Club before 1839, when the Captain was Lord Ramsay, the elder brother of Lord Dalhousie, the great Governor-General, and at the time aide-de-camp to his father, the ninth Earl, who was then Commander-in-Chief in India.

DOWNING'S use of the word "Culey" is interesting, as it indicates the origin of an expression which has in the course of years come to bear a very different meaning. The history of the change is given by Bishop Heber in his Journal (1825):—"The head man of the village said he was a *Kholee* [Koli], the name of a degenerate race of Rajpoots in Guzerat, who from the low occupations in which they are generally employed, have (under the corrupt name of Coolie) given a name, probably through the medium of the Portuguese,

Cricket in Calcutta.

Golf.

The word "coolie."

to bearers of burdens all over India." Except for the fact that the Kolis are a hill people who still exist in large numbers in Guzerat and the Konkan, the explanation is not an improbable one: but it is necessary to point out that in South India there is a Tamil word *Kuli* in use which signifies "hire" or "wages," and that according to Dr. H. H. Wilson, it is from this word that the modern meaning of coolie has developed.

OUR old friend, Mr. A. F. C. de Cosson, has been much exercised by the discovery, which he communicated to the *Times* of June 16, that Thomas Waghorn, the originator of the overland route to India across Egypt, is described as a German in the English service in the 1914 edition of Baedeker's guide-book to Egypt. The assertion is the more extraordinary because in the edition of 1902, the statement is twice made that Waghorn was an Englishman. No explanation has been offered for the transition from fact to fiction. Of Waghorn's English nationality there can be no doubt. Sir Charles Oman M. P. has pointed out that the connexion with India began with James Waghorn, who is buried in the churchyard of Ewell in Surrey, and was employed at the India House in Leadenhall Street. Thomas Waghorn (1800-1850) was his cousin, and the son of a Rochester tradesman: while Sir Danvers Waghorn, who was until recently a member of the Indian Railway Board, is the grandson of James. A statue of Thomas Waghorn was unveiled at Chatham in 1888: and there is a bust at Suez which was erected by Ferdinand de Lesseps. A portrait of him may be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall.

MR. BALDWIN unveiled on June 28 a series of eight mural paintings measuring fifteen by nine feet, which have been placed in St. Stephen's Hall, Westminster, to illustrate notable episodes in the history of the British Empire. Among them is a panel presented by the Duke of Bedford and executed by Professor W. Dothenstein which bears the following title: "Sir Thomas Roe, envoy from King James the First of England to the Mogul Emperor succeeds by his courtesy and firmness at the Court of Ajmir, in laying the foundation of British influence in India, 1616." Sir Henry Newbolt has written the story of "The Building of Britain" round the paintings which are to be reproduced in colour. Mr. Rothenstein, whose interest in Indian art is well-known, has by general consent been most successful in the treatment of his subject. He has based his style upon the Indian miniatures of the Mogul type: and his work is characterized by admirable draftsmanship and harmonious colouring. The central figure in the composition is the Emperor Jehanghir, who is seated on a musnud surmounted by a canopy. Two attendants with chowries stand behind him and a group of courtiers is on either side. Sir Thomas Roe in the English dress of the period, faces the Emperor, with his back to the spectator, and is seen presenting his master's letter in a

Sir Thomas Roe
at the court of
Jehanghir.

parchment roll. Two of his Indian attendants are making a profound obeisance in the left foreground. The marble building of the Fort at Ajmir forms an appropriate background.

THE death at Oxford on July 1 last of Mrs. George Carnac Barnes, in her ninety-ninth year, breaks one of the last of the links which bind the present generation with the events of 1857. In the summer of that fateful year, she was at Kasauli and her husband was commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej States, with head-quarters at Umballa. When General Anson the Commander-in-Chief arrived at Umballa from Simla upon receiving the news of the outbreak of the rebellion, he filled Barnes with dismay by announcing that he intended to entrench himself and "wait, and see." John Lawrence to whom his subordinate telegraphed, replied at once "clubs are trumps, not spades: when in doubt take the trick:" and Anson happily took the hint and decided to move forward to Delhi. Barnes died at Hazaribagh on May 13, 1861, shortly after he had been appointed by Lord Canning to be Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. His nephew Sir Hugh Shakespear Barnes, was Foreign Secretary in his turn and Lieutenant-Governor of Burma from 1903 to 1905: and his eldest son, Sir George Stapylton Barnes, who was born at Umballa on February, 8, 1858, was commerce Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council from 1916 to 1921.

THERE was offered for sale at Christie's on July 12 last "a gold seal with an emerald engraved in Persian Characters with the name of John Benn and the date 1783." It was the property of the third and present Lord Ormath Waite, John Benn, his ancestor, has long been forgotten: and yet there is an interesting connexion between him and the family of Lord Clive's wife. He arrived in Bengal as a writer in 1777, and from 1782 to 1785 was assistant to the Resident at Benares when no doubt the seal was engraved. In 1787 he was "out of the service," and the next stage in his career is marked by a baronetcy which was conferred upon him in 1804. But before that he had in 1795 assumed the surname of Walsh on succeeding to the estates of John Walsh, his wife's uncle. He had married in 1750 Margaret Fowke the daughter of Dr. Johnson's friend Joseph Fowke and Elizabeth Walsh, John Walsh's sister: and his son was created Lord Ormath Waite in 1868. Joseph Walsh the father of John and Elizabeth, was the uncle by marriage of Lady Clive, for his wife was her aunt Elizabeth Maskelyne. He was dismissed in 1725 from the office of Deputy Governor of Fort Marlborough (Sumatra) and died in 1731 at Madras, where his tomb may still be seen in the compound of St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George. John Walsh who was born at Fort Marlborough in 1726 went out to Fort Saint George as a writer in 1743.

A link with Clive.

In 1756 he accompanied Clive to Bengal as his private secretary and was sent to England by him in 1757 to lay before Pitt his plan for the reorganization of the administration of Bengal. He did not return but employed the fifty thousand odd pounds which he received from Mir Jaffir after Plassey in the purchase of Warfield Park in Berkshire in 1771, and sat also in Parliament as member for a Worcester. He quarrelled with Warren Hastings over the dismissal of his nephew Francis Fowke from his post at Benares: but achieved a more enduring reputation as a scientist. Of Joseph Fowke and his son Francis something was said in a very recent issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXX, pp. 112-113). The parents of Joseph, Randall and Anne Fowke, are buried at Madras in the same compound as Joseph Walsh: the father died on October 2, 1745, at the age of seventy-two, "forty of which he spent in the East India Company's Service," and the mother on August 3, 1734.

Three miniature portraits, which were also the property of Lord Ormath Waite, were included in the same sale. The first in a gold clasp, is by S. Cotes (1773) and represents Lord Metcalfe's father Sir Thomas Metcalfe, of whom William Hickey gives such an unflattering account: the second in a gold brooch is of Henry Metcalfe, another of his sons: and the third is a portrait of Sir John Walsh (or Benn) by George Engeheart, in a gold locket. Lord Metcalfe, it is well known, died in 1846 without issue and was succeeded in the baronetcy by his brother Thomas Theophilus (writer 1813) who was appointed Agent to the Governor-General at Delhi in 1835 and died at that place in 1853. But he left £50,000 to his natural son Colonel James Metcalfe C.B. of the Bengal Army, who was aide-de-camp to Lord Dalhousie and subsequently interpreter to Sir Colin Campbell during the Mutiny: and died as recently as 1888 at the age of seventy-one.

CERTAIN enquiries have been addressed to us regarding the family of General William Palmer (1740-1816) and his son John Palmer: (1767-1836) the "Prince of Merchants," whose bust by the Palmer family. Chantrey Stands in the lower lobby of the Calcutta Town Hall: and a number of interesting facts, which are not generally known, have been ascertained in the course of our researches. The statement is incorrect that General Palmer married an Oudh princess. Colonel Meadows Taylor, among others says definitely in his *Story of My Life* that she was a Lady of the Delhi family, and he was in a position to know, for he married the daughter of her eldest son William Palmer (1781-1867), the "King" Palmer of Hyderabad fame. Her name has hitherto escaped us, but it is revealed by Major Hodson in his newly published "list of officers of the Bengal Army;" on the authority of the General's will which was proved at Calcutta in 1816 and in which he says that she has

lived with him for more than thirty years. Captain James Arrow (1786-1819) married at Berhampore on January 25, 1816. "Mary daughter of William Palmer and Bibi Faiz Bakhsh, a begum of Delhi." He acted as aide-de-camp to his father-in-law at Berhampore from 1806 to 1812, and was cantonment Adjutant and Barrack master there from 1812 to 1819. His death occurred at sea on December 27, 1819, between Madras and the Cape. Besides "King" Palmer and Hastings Palmer (1785-1860) who are both buried at Hyderabad, General Palmer and his begum had two other sons: Charles, born on January 7, 1791, and Robert, born in August of the same year. Both were baptized in Calcutta in July 1792 as "the sons of William Palmer, Major." The name of the mother is omitted in the entry and also in the entries of the baptisms of William (March 20, 1782) and Hastings (December 27, 1785): and the two latter are described as "natural children," no doubt because the marriage with the begum was a Mahomedan one. These unions were not uncommon. Colonel Thomas Alexander Cobbe (1788-1836) who was Agent to the Governor-General at Moorshedabad from 1831 to 1836, married, according to Major Hodson, "Nuzzer Begum, daughter of Aziz Khan, of Kashmir."

ACCORDING to the inscription on the pedestal of his bust, John Palmer was the second son of the General. The eldest would seem to have been Samuel Palmer who was appointed to be an ensign in the Bengal Infantry in 1779, became a Lieutenant-Colonel in 1813, and died on March 8, 1814. Both he and John must have been the children of an earlier wife. We have not been able to trace the date of his birth, but he is mentioned as a son of General William Palmer in the *East India Military Calendar* (Vol. II, p. 451). George Palmer who died at Purnea on September 10, 1840 and is commemorated by a tablet in St. John's Church, may we think, be identified with the George Palmer who was baptized in Calcutta on December 20, 1795, "son of Samuel Palmer, Lieutenant, detached with Major Palmer." John Palmer married in 1791 Mary Sarah Hampton, whom we take to be the daughter of Colonel Samuel Hampton, who was a large house-owner in Calcutta and died at Berhampore on April 7, 1786. Her sister had married R. C. Bazett of the firm of Colvins and Bazett on July 30, 1790.

IT is well known that three of John Palmer's daughters made notable marriages. One married William Taylor (Bengal Civil Service 1829 to 1859) the famous "Patna" Tayler of Mutiny days. Two of their sons were in the Bengal Civil Service: Skipwith Henry Churchill Tayler from 1853 to 1887, and William Vansittart Graham Tayler, from 1856 to 1871: and of their four sons-in-law two were also civilians: Edward Dowdeswell Lockwood (B.C.S. 1850 to 1878) who was the grandson of Samuel Davis (the defender of

Nandesur House at Benares in 1799) and Archdale Villers Palmer, (B.C.S. 1853 to 1880) whose family had no connexion with the Calcutta Palmers. A second daughter married Sir Charles Parry Hobhouse (B.C.S. 1844 to 1871) who died in 1916 at the age of ninety, and their son is the present baronet. The third, Anne Catherine Bazett Palmer (1801-1885) married in April 4, 1825, Robert Castle Jenkins, and their son Richard Palmer Jenkins (1826-1899) was another well-known Bengal civilian. There was also a fourth daughter Claudino, born, we believe, in 1794. Major Hodson records that Capt. Llewellyn Conroy, the commandant of the Calcutta native militia, married at St. John's Church, Calcutta, on January 10, 1822, "Claudine Anne, daughter of John Palmer of Calcutta, banker, widow of [blank] Kerr." Conroy died of Cholera at Alipore on September 4, 1825, at the age of thirty-seven. John Palmer had likewise two sons: Francis Charles, baptized in Calcutta in 1792, and Henry John, born in Calcutta on January 21, 1797. The latter was in the Bengal Civil Service (writer 1815) and was officiating in August 1841 as salt agent of the Twenty-Four Pergunnahs and Jessore. The former was in the Bengal Army, and appears to be the Francis Palmer mentioned by Dodwell and Miles, who was appointed to be a cornet in the cavalry in 1809, was promoted to Captain in 1823, and was pensioned in India on December 28, 1827.

SEVERAL of the last remaining survivors of the defence and relief of the Lucknow Presidency have died during the year. Major-General George Stewart, C.B. (February 12) was one of Sir Henry Havelock's relieving force: and in the same issue of the *Times* the deaths were announced of two other Lucknow veterans, George Smith aged 89 and Joseph Turner, aged 90, on March 16 the death was reported at Nelson in British Columbia of Mrs. Charlotte Henderson Cleland, who was the daughter of Captain Fletcher Hayes, the Military Secretary of Sir Henry Lawrence, and went through the siege as a child of six. Mr. Alexander Courtenay Bryson (March 29), formerly of the Opium Department, was the nephew of "Lucknow" Kavanagh, and as a child of six formed one of the party which marched out to the Alum Bagh on the night of November 23, 1857, when the final relief was effected by Sir Colin Campbell. He lost his father during the siege Lieutenant-General Octavius Ludlow Smith (May 8) who married the only daughter of Sir Vincent Eyre of Arrah Fame, was a Lieutenant in the Company's Army of ten years' service at Lucknow when the siege began. He was in his ninety-ninth year. Lieutenant-Colonel Gerald Andrew Agnew (May 16), who was in his ninety-second year, took part in Havelock's relief, and all the subsequent operations including Outram's defence of the Alum Bagh. With the disappearance of these veterans, the list of combatant officers of the besieged Garrison is believed to be reduced to a single name, that of Colonel John Bonham C.B. of the old Bengal Artillery, who has reached his ninety-fourth year in spite of

the four wounds he received. But we have also still with us a hale and hearty "Lucknow baby" in the person of Mr. Robert Hildebrand Anderson, who is remembered at Chittagong, where he was Judge at the time of his retirement in 1902 from the Indian Civil Service, and who was born during the siege. His father, Captain R. P. Anderson of the 25th Bengal Infantry, was the hero of "Anderson's Post," "the most exposed post in the whole garrison," says Lady Inglis, "and the only one called by the name of its commander throughout the siege." A tablet in St. John's Church bears the names of Mr. Anderson's mother and his infant sister, aged seven months, "who died from sheer want of proper nutriment during the siege of Lucknow."

ACCORDING to a London newspaper (the *Daily Express*) there was alive on December 21, 1926, a Mrs. W. Moss of Great Yarmouth who is the daughter of a soldier and was taken to India by her parents shortly after her birth in 1850. During the siege of the Presidency she was placed with other children in the care of "Scotch Jessie" who maintained that she could hear the Highland pipes several hours before the garrison were actually relieved by Havelock's force: and she is the little girl who is seen in the well known picture of the Relief, being tossed in the air by a Brawny Scottish soldier. She is able to recall how Kavanagh, disguised as a Pathan Swashbuckler, left the Presidency at dusk to make his way to the headquarters of Sir Colin Campbell.

THE story of "Scotch Jessie" was celebrated in verse by Miss Grace Campbell under the title of "Jessie's Dream," and has been authenticated in his *Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny* by the late Mr. William Forbes Mitchell, who served as a sergeant with the 93rd Highlanders at the second relief of the Presidency and who for many years was well-known in Calcutta as the proprietor of the Bon Accord Rope Works at Garden Reach. The pipes were those of the 78th Highlanders who formed part of Havelock's relieving force: and the Lady was Jessie Brown. Forbes Mitchell heard the story on the Dilkusha heights before Lucknow in November, 1857: and quotes in addition the positive statement made in London in 1901 by a Mrs. Gaffney, that she was in the *tykhana*, or underground room, of the Residency with Jessie Brown at the time. "I knew Mrs. Gaffney well," he says, "I think her first husband was a sergeant of the Company's artillery who was either killed in the defence of the Residency or soon after. I often heard her relate the story and I was best man to Sergeant Gaffney of the Commissariat when she married him in the end of 1860 or the beginning of 1861."

EVAN COTTON.



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